A TREATISE OF COMMERCE

Wherein are shewed the Commodities arising by a well ordered and ruled Trade, such as that of the Societie of Merchants Adventurers is proued to be:

Written principally for the better information of those who doubt of the Necessarinesse of the said societie in the State of the Realme of England.

By IOHN WHEELER, *Secretarie to the said Societie.*

Printed at London by John Hamilton

To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecill *Knight, principall Secretary to her Maiestie, &c.*

THose which heretofore (*Right Honorable*) haue written of ante matter, and had opinion, that the publiſhing thereof might doe good vnto others, haue vſed to Dedicate their Labours to ſome one, or other, vnder whoſe countenance, and protection the ſame might go foorth, & bee the better lyked, and receyued of all men: which is the cauſe that I haue made bolde to inſcribe this Treatiſe, ſuch as it is, vnto your Honour, vpon hope of fauourable allowance, and Patronage, which I inſtantlie crane, and entreat, and withall, that in the readinge thereof, your Honour would vouchſafe to remember, that it concerneth thoſe men, and that olde and ancientlie renoumed Companie of Merchantes Adventvrers, which was ſo well eſteemed of, and highlie fauoured by your late right Honorable Father, of woorthie memorie, vnto whom as God hath appointed your Honour to be a Succeſſour in manie excellent thinges of this life, whether wee regarde the Honourable places, wherevnto you are called in the Gouernement of the State, or the vertues, and qualities fit for ſo waightie a calling, wherewith you are endewed, So it may pleaſe your Honour to take vnto you this Succeſ-

ſion alſo, to witte, the dewtifull Obſeruancie, and Promptitude, which the ſaid Companie alwayes ſhewed towardes your ſaid right Honourable Fathers ſeruice, and which they alſo ſtande readie and deſirous to preſent, & performe vnto your Honour to their beſt power, and abilitie.

I am not ignorant alſo, that it is the maner of writers, to fill vp the greateſt parte of their Prefaces with the praiſes, and cõmendations of thoſe, to whome they Dedicate their Trauailes, and ſurelie this Reward ſeemeth to bee dew vnto true Vertue, that the Memorie thereof ſhould bee conſecrated to Poſteritie, which can not be performed by anie Monument better, then by Bookes. And albeit, without all Gloſinge, or counterfeyting, I haue heere in verie deed a large fielde of your Honours prayſes offered vnto mee, yet becauſe my ſimplicitie not onelie abhorreth all Adulation, but withall all kinde of Fawninge, or flattering ſpeeche, and that your Honours ſingular Modeſtie, is wonte, not to abide anie thinge leſſe, then euen the modeſteſt commendations, I will let paſſe the ſame, and come vnto the handlinge of the enſuing Treatiſe, which with my ſelfe I humbly recommend vnto your Honours good fauour, and ſo beſeech the Almightie to bleſſe, and keepe your Honour. Middelburgh the ſixth of Iune 1601.

Your Honors with his ſeruice
at commandement.

IOHN WHEELER.

A TREATISE OF COMMERCE.

Wherein are ſhewed the Commodities ariſing by a well ordered and ruled Trade, ſuch as that of the ſocietie of MERCHANTS ADVENTVRERS is prooued to be: Written for the better information of thoſe, who doubt of the neceſſarineſſe of the ſaid Societie in the State of the Realme of England, By *Iohn VVheeler*, Secretarie to the ſaide Societie.

Vita ciuilis in Societate eſt, Societas in Imperio, & Commercio.

Commercio gentes mari, montibúſque diſcretæ miſcentur, vt quod vſquam naſcitur, apud omnes affluat.

THere be two points about the which the Royal office & adminiſtration of a Prince is wholy emploied, to wit, about the gouernment of the perſons of men: next of things conuenient and fit for the maintenance of humane ſocietie: wherin principally the ciuil life conſiſteth & hath her being: And therefore the Prince that loueth the Policie, and ruleth by ſage and good counſell, is to conſtitute and appoint certaine Lawes, and ordinarie Rules, both in the one and the other of the aboueſaid points, and ſpecially in the firſt as the chiefeſt, which is conuerſant and occupied about the inſtitution of the perſons of men in pietie, ciuill conuerſation in maners and faſhion of life, and finally in the mutuall dutie of equitie & charitie one towards another: of the which my purpoſe is not to intreat, but ſomewhat of that other point, namely, the Gouernment of things conuenient and fit for the maintenance of Humane So-

cietie: wherevnto mens actions and affections are chieflie directed, and whereabouts they beſtow, and employ not only the quickenes and induſtrie of their ſpirites, but alſo the labour and trauaile of their handes, and ſides: that ſo they may drawe from thence either commoditie or pleaſure, or at leaſtwiſe therby ſupplie, & furniſh their ſeueral wantes, and neceſſities From hence, as from a root or fountain firſt proceedeth the eſtate of *Marchandiſe*, and then conſequentlie in a row, ſo manie, diverſe, and ſundrie Artes, as we ſee in the worlde. At which it ſhould ſeeme that man beginneth the train, or courſe of his life, and therein firſt of all diſcouereth not onlie the dexteritie & ſharpenes of his wit, but withal that naughtines & corruption which is naturallie in him: for there is nothing in the world ſo ordinarie, and naturall vnto men, as to contract, truck, merchandiſe, and traffike one with an other, ſo that it is almoſt vnpoſſible for three perſons to conuerſe together two houres, but they will fal into talk of one bargaine or another, chopping, changing, or ſome other kinde of contract Children, aſſoone as euer their tongues are at libertie, doe ſeaſon their ſportes with ſome merchandiſe, or other: and when they goe to ſchoole, nothing is ſo common among them as to change, and rechange, buy and ſell of that, which they bring from home with them. The Prince with his ſubiects, the Maiſter with his ſeruants, one friend and acquaintance with another, the Captaine with his ſouldiers, the Huſband with his wife, Women with and among themſelues, and in a word, all the world choppeth and changeth, runneth & raueth after Marts, Markets and Merchandiſing, ſo that all thinges come into Commerce, and paſſe into traffique (in a maner) in all times, and in all places: not onely that, which nature bringeth forth, as the fruits of the earth, the beaſts and liuing creatures, with their ſpoiles, skinnes and caſes, the metals, minerals, and ſuch like things, but further alſo, this man maketh merchandiſe of the workes of his owne handes, this man of another mans labour, one ſelleth words, another maketh taffike of the skins & bloud of other men, yea there are ſome found ſo ſubtill and cunning merchants, that they perſwade

swade and induce men to suffer themselues to bee bought and sold, and we haue seene in our time enow, and too many which haue made merchandise of mens soules. To conclude, all that a man worketh with his hand, or discourseth in his spirit, is nothing els but merchandise, and a triall to put in practise the Contracts, which the Legists and men skilfull in the lawes knew not to name otherwise then thus, *Do vt des, Facio vt facias*: the which words in effect comprehend in them all negotiations, or traffiques whatsoeuer, and are none other thing but meere matter of merchandise & Commerce. Now albeit this affection bee in all persons generally both high and low, yet there are of the notablest, and principallest Traffiquers which are ashamed, and thinke scorne to be called Merchants: whereas indeed merchandise, which is vsed by way of proper vacation, being rightly considered of, is not to be despised, or accounted base by men of iudgement, but to the contrarie, by many reasons and examples it is to be proued, that the estate is honorable, & may be exercised not only of those of the third estate (as we terme thē) but also by the Nobles, and chiefest men of this Realme with commendable profit, and without any derogation to their Nobilities, high Degrees, and conditions, with what great good to their states, honour, and enriching of themselues and their Countries, the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, *Genoueses*, and our neighbours the *Hollanders* haue vsed this trade of life, who knoweth not? or hauing seene the beautie, strength, opulencie, and populousnesse of the aboue said Cities and prouinces, wondereth not thereat? Was not this the first step, and entrie of the kings of Portugall vnto the kingdomes and riches of the East? *Solon* in his youth gaue himselfe to the feate of Merchandise, and in his time, saith *Plutarch* (bringing *Hesiodus* for his author) there was no estate of life reprochful, neither Art, or occupatiō, that did put difference betweene men, but rather which is more, merchādise was accoūted an honorable thing, as that which ministred the meanes to haunt and traffique with barbarous nations, to procure the friendship of Princes, and to gaine experience into many matters, in so much (saith he) that there haue

Commendation of Merchandise.

Plutarch. in vita Solonis.

haue been Merchants, which were founders of great Cities, as he was that founded *Merſeilles* in France. The wiſe *Thales Mileſius* did alſo exerciſe Merchandiſe: likewiſe *Hippocrates* and *Plato* defrayed the charges of a voyage, which hee made in *Egypt*, with the monie which he got there by ſelling of oile: So that it appeareth, that not only a Prince may vſe this kinde of men, I meane Merchantes, to the great benefite, and good of his ſtate, either for forreigne intelligence, or exploration, or for the opening of an entrie & paſſage vnto vnknowne and farre diſtant partes, or for the furniſhing of monie, and other proviſions in time of warres, and dearth, or laſtly, for the ſervice and honor of the Prince, and Cõũtrie abroad at all times requiſite, and expedient, but alſo this kinde of life may be exerciſed and vſed with commendation, and without loſſe of on jote of honor in thoſe, who are honorable, or of eminent degree, as a foreſaid: Whereunto I adde this further, that without Merchandiſe, no eaſe or commodious liuing continueth long in anie ſtate, or common wealth, no not loyaltie, or equitie it ſelfe, or vpright dealing. Therefore herein alſo, as in the former point, good order and rule is to be ſet, where it is wanting, or where it is alreadie eſtabliſhed, there it ought to be preſerued: for the maintenance of ſo neceſſarie, and beneficiall an eſtate in the common Wealth, by conſtituting meet & well proportioned ordinances ouer the ſame, & ouer thoſe things, which are thereupon depending, between the Marchants, and thoſe things, which are marchandized, or handled likewiſe with convenable, and well appropriated Magiſtrates and ouerſeers for the maintenance, & execution of the ſaid ordinãces. For it is very certain & true, that *ſine imperio nec domus vlla, nec Ciuitas, nec Gens, nec ſocietas, nec hominũ vniuerſum genus ſtare, nec rerũ natura omnis, nec mũdus ipſe poteſt, &c.*

The peaceable, politike, and rich Prince King *Henrie* 7. well marking the trueth hereof, and perceiuing that as in former times, ſo in his manie diſturbances, grievances and damages had befallen to, and among the Engliſh M.M. his ſubiects, trading into the low countries, *ob defectũ boni Regiminis*, tooke order for the ſame, as well by cõfirming the ancient

Charters

Charters of his Predeceſſors, Kings of England vnto the Societie of M. M. Aduenturers, as alſo by adding thereunto newe, whereby hee ſo ſtrengthened, and enlarged the authoritie, and Priuiledges of the ſaid Fellowſhip, that euer ſince the ſame hath floriſhed in great proſperitie, and wealth, and out of it (as out of a plentifull Nurſerie, haue ſprung and proceeded almoſt all the principall Marchants of this Realme, at the leaſt ſuch Companies, as haue ariſen ſince, haue for the moſt part, fetched their light, patterne, and forme of policie and trade from the ſaid Societie to the ineſtimable good and commoditie of this Realme, our native Countrey: ſo that to change this courſe were to returne to the olde confuſion, and diſorder, and withall to bereaue the land of ſo neceſſarie and ſeruiceable an eſtate, as *Merchandiſe is.*

Whatſoeuer is commendable, or is ſaid of the beſt founded Companie or Merchantes in generall, maketh alſo for the Companie of Marchants Aduenturers ſpecially: howbeit theſe things are particularly for our purpoſe to be conſidered in this Companie: *The firſt Inſtitution: The Auncient eſtimation it hath had: The ſtate and Gouernment of it, and ſuch benefits, as grow to the Realme by the maintenance of it.*

Of the firſt Inſtitution of the Fellowſhip or Companie of Merchants Aduenturers, and the cauſes thereof.

MARCVS *Cato*, a prudent Counſellour, and a good husband in deed, ſaith: *Quòd oportet Patremfamilias vendacem eſſe non emacem:* And who knoweth not, that we haue no ſmall need of many things, whereof foreigne Countreys haue great ſtore, and that wee may well ſpare many things, whereof the ſaid Countreys haue alſo need? Now to vent the ſuperfluities of our Countrey, and bring in the Commodities of others, there is no readier, or better meane then by Merchandize: and

ſeeing we haue no way to encreaſe our treaſure by mynes of golde and ſiluer at home, and can haue nothing from abroad without mony, or ware, it followeth neceſſarily, that the aboueſaid good counſel of *Cato*, to be ſellers and not buyers, is to be followed, yet ſo, that wee carry not out more in value ouer the ſeas then we bring home frō thence, or tranſport things hurtfull to the State, for this were no good huſbandry, but tendeth to the ſubuerſion of the land and diminiſhing of the treaſure thereof, whereas by the other wee ſhall greatly encreaſe it, the trade being carried and managed vnder a conuenient gouernment & orders, and not in a diſperſed, looſe, and ſtragling maner: the practiſe whereof we may ſee in this Realme almoſt theſe 400. yeeres together: Firſt in the Staple, and Wooll trade, and next in that of the Merchants Aduenturers and Cloth trade. And King *Edward* the third thought it not enough, to bring the working and making of the Cloth into the realme, except, when the ſame was indraped, he withal prouided for the vent thereof in forreigne parts, to the moſt benefit and aduancement of that newe begun Arte, and therefore whereas the aboueſaid Company (though then otherwiſe termed thē now) in the yeere 1248. had obtained Priuiledges of *John* Duke of *Brabant*, the ſaid King confirmed the ſame for the ſubſtantiall gouernment of the ſaid Company in their trade.

The brotherhood of Saint Thomas Becket of Canterbury.

In the yeere 1399. The Arte of making of Cloth being growen to good perfection within this Realme, King *Henrie* the Fourth firſt prohibited the inuection of forreigne made Cloth, and gaue vnto the ſaid Company a very beneficiall and ample Charter of Priuiledges, confirmed by Acte of Parliament for the ſame purpoſe and intent, as his Predeceſſor King *Edward* the Third had done before him: whoſe example the ſucceeding Kings, *Henrie* the fifth, and ſixt, *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard* the third followed, ratifying and confirming their Predeceſſors doings on this behalfe: the next in order following King *Henrie* the ſeauenth, like a wiſe and prouident Prince, well marking and conſidering howe neceſſary and ſeruiceable the ſtate of *Merchandiſe* was vnto this

this Realme, not onely liked and confirmed that, which the aboue rehearſed Kings had done before him, but alſo greatly enlarged and augmented the ſame by three ſeuerall Charters, and by other his gracious and royall fauours from time to time, not onely towards the ſaid Company in generall, but withall to diuers Merchants in particular: *Mercatores ille ſe-penumero pecunia multa data gratuito iuuabat, vt Mercatura (Ars vna omnium cunctis æque mortalibus tum commoda, tum neceſſaria) in ſuo Regno copioſior eſſet.* And when vpon a variance fallen out betweene him & the Archduke *Philip*, he had drawen as well the ſaid Company as that of the Staple out of the low Countries, and placed them at *Calice*, hee gaue vnto them within the ſaid Towne as large and beneficiall Priuiledges, as they before had enioyed in the ſaid lowe Countries, which were very large and fauourable, intituling them by the name of *Merchants Aduenturers*. And albeit in this Kings dayes, as alſo in the raigne of King *Henrie* the fourth, the like complaint as of late, was made by the Clothiers, Woollgrowers, Dyers, &c. againſt the Company of Merchants Aduenturers: yet after due examination of the ſaid complaint, the iſſue procured great fauour to the ſaid Company, & gaue occaſiõ of the inlarging of their former Charters, with an expreſſe reſtraint of all Straglers, and Entermedlers, that might diſturbe, or impeach their trade: and whereas alſo the *Eaſterlings* at this time had entered into the ſame trade, the aforeſaid prudent Prince King *Henrie* the ſeuenth, did not onely ſtraightly inhibite them ſo to doe, but alſo tooke Recognizance of twenty thouſand Markes of the Aldermen of the Steelyarde at *London*, that the ſaid *Eaſterlings* ſhould not cary any Engliſh cloth to the place of Reſidence of the Merchants Aduenturers in the lowe Countries, or open their Fardels of Cloth in the ſaid Countries, to the preiudice of the ſaid Company, by putting the ſame to vent there, which they were not wont to do. In the time of the reigne of K. *E.* the 6. *John Tulle*, *John Dimock* & others, brethrẽ of the ſaid Cõpany, enformed the Biſhop of Elye, at that time L. Chãcellor, of matter againſt the Cõpany, but their bil brought to the Councel boord, and

Polidorus in vita Henrici ſeptimi.

examined, it was finally ordered, that the ſaid Complainants ſhould ſubmit themſelues vnto the obedience of the Companies orders, and pay certaine fines, which the Lordes then laid vpon them, beſides that two of the principalleſt found to be the Ringleaders of the reſt, were committed to the Fleet, there to remaine, till ſuch time as the Company of M M. Aduenturers ſhould ſue for their releaſe. And albeit the ſaid perſons renewed their complaints, in the firſt yeere of Q. *Maries* raigne, and did put vp a bill to the Parliament houſe, againſt the Company, yet the ſame being anſwered by the ſaid Company, was reiected, and caſt out of the Parliament houſe. Since the time of King *Henrie* the ſeuenth, the ſucceeding Princes, King *Henrie* the eight of famous memorie, King *Edward* the ſixth, and Queene *Marie*, haue continued, confirmed, and enlarged the aboueſaid Charters and Priuiledges, but aboue all other, our moſt gracious Soueraigne, that now raigneth, Queene ELIZABETH, hath ſhewed her gracious, and fauourable affection towardes the ſaid Companie, in not onely confirming the letters Patentes, and Charters of her moſt Noble Grandfather, and of other her Highneſſe Predeceſſours aboue mentioned, but alſo in adding thereunto other more large, and beneficiall Priuiledges of her owne. For whereas the M.M. Aduenturers about the beginning of her Maieſties reigne, by diuerſe reſtraints, Edicts, and Proclamations, made and ſet forth by the Gouernours and Commanders of the Low Countryes, were empeached and prohibited to trade into the ſaid Countries, contrarie to the ancient Entercourſes, and the Priuiledges to the ſaid Company granted of old time, & conſequently were occaſioned to ſeeke, and erect a Trade in the partes of Germanie, which they did with their great charges and trauaile for the vent of the Commodities of the Realme, her Highnes calling to remembrance this and other faithfull & acceptable ſeruice at ſundrie times done by the ſayd M. M. Aduenturers in diuerſe the great & waighty affaires of her Maieſty & realme, and minding the encreaſe and aduancement of the ſaid Merchants, as much as any her Progenitours, (as her Highneſſe profeſ-

profeſſeth in the ſaid Charter) it pleaſed her ſaid Maieſtie in the ſixt yere of her reigne, to giue and grant vnto them thoſe gracious and ample priuiledges, which the ſaid Companie now enioyeth, and afterwards vpon new occaſion, the trade of the ſaid Company being much impeached by wrongfull entermedling of vnfree perſons in the ſame, it pleaſed her Maieſtie by a new Charter, and Letters Patents vnder the great ſeale of England, in the eight & twentith yeare of her reigne, to prouide againſt ſuch iniurious, and vnorderly intruſion, acknowledging the ſeruices done to her Highneſſe by the ſaid M. M. Aduenturers, and pronouncing them to haue beene, & to be verie beneficiall members to the generall ſtate of the realme and common wealth of England: which notable teſtimonie of ſo incomparable a Princeſſe after ſo many yeares of experience and triall, may alone, if there were none other, ſerue for a full & ſufficient Apologie of the aboueſaid Company of M. M. Aduenturers, againſt all the priuie & open, forreigne, and domeſtical gaine-ſaiers, ſlanderers, & oppugners of the ſame, and withall, for a certaine and infallible argumēt, that for the vent of wooll, and woollen wares (the principall commodities of the Realme) it is moſt profitable both for the Prince and countrie, to vſe a gouerned Companie, and not to permit a promiſcuous, ſtragling, and diſperſed trade, whereof I ſhall haue occaſion to ſay more, when I come to ſhew the benefices, which do ariſe vnto the Common-wealth of England, by the maintenance of the aboueſaid Companie, & the gouernment therein vſed.

Of the ancient eſtimation which the Company of Merchants aduenturers hath had.

BY that which hath bene aboue ſaid of the Inſtitution of the Fellowſhip or company of M. M. Aduēturers, is partly ſhewed in what eſtimation the ſaid Companie hath been hitherto with the Kings and Queenes of this realme, from

the reigne of King *Edward* the third, a ſufficient motiue and reaſon, as may be well thought for the preſent and future ages, to haue the ſaid Companie in no leſſe eſtimation and liking: but this is not all, for if we would but looke out of England to our neighbors in Germany and the low Countries, we ſhould ſee the Merchants Aduenturers manie ages together ſought for, welcomed, embraced, cheriſhed, and vſed in as good, yea oftentimes in better termes, then the Naturals of the ſaid Countries themſelues, as appeareth by the ancient Charters, large and beneficiall Priuiledges, and exemptions granted to the ſaid Companie by ſundry Princes, States, Cities, and Commonwealths of high and low Dutchland, ſince the yeare of our Lord 1296. to this our time: which are yet extant to be ſhewed, to the great honour and benefite of this our natiue Countrie, & the Princes thereof from time to time: For thereby we haue not onely opened a paſſage and entrie into forreigne States and Countries, but alſo by our gainfull and beneficiall trade, haue made them the faſter friends to the State of the Realme of England, and the Engliſh Nation; beſides the great wealth and commoditie which hath ariſen thereby to the Common-wealth.

After the taking of Calice by King *Edward* the third, the Earles and people of Flaunders, for the better aſſurance and ſafetie of their State, procured a league and entercourſe with the Kings of England, and their Merchants: whereby the ſaid Earles and people found in ſhort time ſuch profite and commoditie, that *Lewes* Earle of Flaunders in the yeare 1358. gaue and granted to the Engliſh Merchants ſo large and ample Priuiledges and freedomes, that no Nation in Europe had the like in that Countrie at that time, by reaſon whereof, and that the aduenture by ſea and land into Flaunders was very ſhort & eaſie, & almoſt without danger, the Company ſetled themſelues in the Towne of *Bridges*, & ſtapled their commodities there: which once knowne and blowne abroad, Merchants out of all parts of Europe reſorted thither, and made their habitation there, which appeareth by the houſes at this day ſtãding, which beare the names of the cities & countries, whence

Companie of Merchants Aduenturers at Bridges.

whence the ſaid Strangers were. So that in few yeares all the Townes in Flanders, eſpecially *Bridges*, were growne to ſuch wealth and proſperitie, that the fame thereof went almoſt through the whole earth; and at this day, although their great opulencie and concourſe of Merchants be altogether failed, yet in many Countries of Chriſtendome, and out of Chriſtendome, all the Netherlanders carie the name of Flemings, and the low Countries of Flanders. After this, when the Flemings through wealth and fulneſſe of bread, did forget their bounden dutie to their Prince, and withall grew to a proud diſdaine and contempt of all Merchants ſtrangers, and in particular of the Engliſh, by whom they had receiued their chiefeſt good and welfare, the Company remoued from *Bridges* to a Towne in *Zeland* called Middelbourgh, where they are now at this preſent reſiding, whither all other Nations followed the ſtraight. Since which, thoſe of Bridges feeling the ſmart of their folly, haue many times made ſute and meanes to draw the Engliſh thither againe, and in mans memorie they profered a great ſumme of money vnto the ſaid Merchants, with offer of more ample Priuiledges and immunities, then euer they had before in Bridges, or any where els; yea in a maner they profered a blancke, to tie them to what the Engliſh thought good, to haue the traffike againe in their Towne, which very fondly when they had it they could not keepe. This Towne of Middelbourgh ſtood ſo neere the ſea, that the ditches & low places round about, being continually full of ſalt and filthy ooze, for want of a freſh Riuer or current to cleanſe the ſame, bred ſuch ſtench and noyſome ſauours, that the Engliſh vſed to a wholeſome and ſweete aire in their owne country, were troubled with grieuous Agues, and other ſore diſeaſes, & for their health ſake, were forced to leaue the ſaid towne, about the yeare of our Lord 1444. At which time Antwerp being but a poore and ſimple Towne, ſtanding in Brabant, made great ſute to the Companie to repaire thither, which they finally vpon offer of verie large and beneficiall Priuiledges, obtained. In which towne of Antwerp, and the town of *Bergen op Zoom* likewiſe in Brabãr, the Cõpany euer ſince hath for the moſt part cõtinued, ſaue that (as aforeſaid) in

Companie of Merchants Adventurers leaue Bridges, and repaire to Middelburgh.

the time of king *Henrie* the seuenth, they were vpon occasion remoued to Calice for a time, till that by the earnest intercession of the Lady *Margaret* Duchesse of Sauoy, they repaired againe into the Low Countries, first to Middelburgh, then afterwards to Antwerp, where they were ioyfully and honorably receiued, and entertained by the Magistrate and chiefest citizens of the Towne, comming forth in solemne procession to meete and welcome the said Merchants, as by the Records of those times sufficiently appeareth. And heere by the way, it is not much from our purpose, to insert somewhat of the state of Antwerp, at the first comming thither of the Companie, wherin a man shall see that which is almost incredible: *Philip* surnamed the *Good*, Duke of Burgundie, and of Brabant, &c. gaue Priuiledges to the Companie, vnder the name of the English Nation, by which name the said Company euer since hath beene most commonly knowne in the low Countries, which happened in the yeare 1446. Which Priuiledges the towne of Antwerp confirmed the sixt of August in the aboue said yeare, giuing to them besides a large house, which is now called the old *Burse*, and afterwards by exchãge, another more goodly, spacious & sumptuous house called the *Court of Lier*, which the Companie enioyed till the said town was yeelded vp to the Duke of Parma, in the yeare 1585. At the aboue said first Concordate, and conclusion of Priuiledges with the towne of Antwerp, or not long before, there were not in all the Towne aboue foure Merchants, and those also no aduenturers to the sea, the rest of the Inhabitãts or Townsmen were but meane people, and neither able, nor skilfull to vse the feat or trade of Merchandise, but did let out the best of their houses to English-men, and other strangers for chambers, and pack-houses, contenting themselues with some corner for their profits sake: but within few yeares the concourse, and resort of forreigne Merchants to that Towne was so great, that house roome waxed scant, rents were raised, Tolles, axcises, & all other duties to the Prince & Towne wonderfully encreased, and the Antwerp-men themselues, who in few yeares before were but meane artificers, or liued by

Estate of Antwerp at the Companies first comming thither.

by husbandrie, and keeping of cattell (whereof one gate of that citie to this day beareth the name) and had but ſixe ſhips belonging to their Towne, and thoſe for the Riuer onely, that neuer went to ſea, began to grow exceeding rich, ſo that ſome fell to the trade of Merchandiſe, and others emploied their ſubſtance in building, thē their old rotten houſes couered with thatch, were pulled downe, their waſte ground, whereof there was ſtore within the Towne, was turned into goodly buildings, and faire ſtreetes, & their ſhipping encreaſed accordingly: thus proſpered not only thoſe of Antwerp, but all other Townes and places thereabouts, ſo that in our memorie that now liue, the ſaid Towne was growne to ſuch wealth, ſtrength & beautie, as neuer none the like in ſo ſhort a time, and no maruel, for within the compaſſe of fiftie yeeres an houſe that was worth but fourtie Dallers a yeare, grewe to be worth three hundred Dallers a yeere, and an houſe that was let out for ſixtie Dallers, came afterwards to be let for foure hundred Dallers, yea ſome houſes in Antwerpe were let for 600. ſome for 800. Dallers a yeare rent: beſides their Hauens for ſhips to come and lade and diſcharge within the Towne: their publike ſtately buildings, and edifices, erected partly for ornament, and partly for the eaſe and accommodating of the Merchant, were ſo coſtly and ſumptuous, as he that hath not ſeene and marked them well, would not beleeue it: to ſay nothing of the fortification of the Towne, which is ſuch, that the charges thereof would trouble the richeſt Prince in Eurorpe: but as the Poet *Lucan* ſaid,

De Cee Port.

A Daller is three ſhillings ſterling.

Inuida Fatorum ſeries ſummiſq; negatum ſtare diu.

So it fareth at this day with Antwerp, for it hath within theſe few yeares ſuffered verie great change and alteration, and more is like to do, if it long continue ſhut vp, & without trade and tarffike, vnder the yoke of the Spaniard, and the feare of an impregnable caſtle ſtuffed with ſouldiers, a ſcourge and plague to that, and to all free Cities. Thus much by the way, of Antwerp, the late Packe-houſe of Europe, and of the ſtate therof, when the Engliſh Merchants firſt repaired vnto it, and of the great wealth it grew vnto in verie ſhort time, whereof

the said English Merchants with their gainfull and beneficiall trade were a great cause, and meanes, which principally made them to be so much regarded and esteemed in the said Towne, and by the Princes and Gouernours thereof from time to time, as well appeareth, among other proofes, by this one recorded by *Sleidan*, and remembred by some that yet liue. The Emperour *Charles* the fift would haue brought the Inquisition into the Towne of Antwerp, in the yeare 1550. whereabouts there was much ado, and great question, and neither by the sute of the Towne, nor by any intercession, or request of their friends, could the said Emperour be diuerted from his purpose: at the last it was shewed him, that if the Inquisition were brought in, he wold driue the English Merchants out of that Citie, and out of the whole low Countries also, the consequence whereof when he had wel considered, he changed his mind, and so the Citie of Antwerp was saued from the Inquisition, which they so much feared, and by no sute or meanes besides were able to put from them; of such estimation and account were the Merchants Aduenturers with that mightie and prudent Emperour, and of such credit and reckoning haue they beene from time to time at home with eleuen Kings and Queenes of this Realme of England, and abroad with the Cities of *Bridges* in Flanders, *Antwerpe*, and *Bergen op den zoom* in Brabant, *Middelbourgh* and *Ziericzee* in Zeland, *Amsterdam* and *Dort* in Holland, *Utrecht* the chiefe Citie of a Prouince of that name, & with the Dukes Earles, Lords, and Rulers of the abouesaid Cities & Prouinces, lying within the low Countries, ancient friends and confederates with the Crowne of England. And in Germanie with the Townes of *Hambrough* and *Stade*, and the Earles of *East-friesland* since the yeare 1564. till this day, at which time they obtained Priuiledges of the Lady *Anne* Countesse of *Oldenburgh*, and her sonnes *Edgard* and *Iohn*, wherein they call the Company of Merchants Aduenturers, *Inclytam illam & celebratam passim Anglicorum Mercatorum Societatem*. In all which places and countries the foresaid Company haue so demeaned themselues, that thereby they haue reaped great loue,

Sleidanus 22. libro Commentariorum.

Inquisition in Antwerp left off for the M.M. Aduenturers sake.

loue, credite, fame, and commendation, and haue left behind them a longing for them againe in thoſe places, where they once reſided or held their Marts, & procured a deſire of them in many places, where they neuer were: which appeareth by the honourable teſtimonie giuen of the Company by the aboueſaid Townes, and forreigne princes abroad, and is otherwiſe well knowne to thoſe, who know any thing of the doings of our Neighbours. And lately, when through the malicious and iniurious working of a few of the *Hanſe* Townes, inſtigated & holpen forward by the King of Spaines miniſters, a part of the ſaid Company was put from the Towne of *Stade* in the yeare 1597. and were forced to retire out of the Empire, the Townes of the vnited low Countreys, eleuen or twelue in number of the beſt ſituate, each ſtriuing to be preferred, like ſo many Riuals or Competitors, offered thēſelues in moſt friendly and heartie ſort, and inuited the ſaid Companie to reſide with them, vpon promiſes of ſuch fauour and priuiledge as ought neuer to be forgotten: but hereof poſſibly enough. Let vs now looke into the Eſtate, Policie, and gouernement of the ſaid Companie, whereby we ſhall plainely ſee the cauſes and reaſons of the loue, eſtimation, and credite which it hath purchaſed abroad, and ſo the ſooner beleeue that, which hath aboue beene ſet downe, and affirmed.

Of the State and Gouernement of the Companie of Merchants Aduenturers, and of ſuch benefites as growe to the Realme by the maintenance thereof.

THe Company of the Merchants Aduenturers conſiſteth of a great number of wealthie, and well experimented Merchants, dwelling in diuerſe great Cities, Maritime Townes, and other parts of the Realme, to wit, London, Yorke, Norwich,

Exceter, Ipſwitch, Newcaſtle, Hull, &c. Theſe men of olde time linked and bound themſelues together in Companie for the exerciſe of Merchandiſe and ſea-fare, trading in Cloth, Kerſie, and all other, as well Engliſh as forreigne Commodities vendible abroad, by the which they brought vnto the places where they traded, much wealth, benefite, and commoditie, and for that cauſe haue obtained many verie excellent and ſingular priuiledges, rights, iuriſdictions, exemptions and immunities, all which thoſe of the aforeſaid Fellowſhip equally enioy after a well ordered maner and forme, and according to the ordinances, lawes, and cuſtomes deuiſed and agreed vpon by common conſent of all the Merchants, free of the ſaid Fellowſhip, dwelling in the abouenamed Townes and places of the land: the parts and places which they trade vnto, are the Townes and ports lying betweene the riuers of *Somme* in France, and the *Scawe* in the Germane ſea: not into all at once, or at each mans pleaſure, but into one, or two Towns at the moſt within the aboueſaid bounds, which they commonly call the Mart Towne, or Townes; for that there onely they ſtapled the commodities, which they brought out of England, & put the ſame to ſale, and bought ſuch forreigne commodities, as the land wanted, and were brought from far by Merchants of diuerſe Nations and countries flocking thither, as to a Faire, or market to buy & ſell. And albeit through the troubles and alteration of times, the Merchants Aduenturers haue beene forced to change and leaue their olde marte Townes, and ſeeke new (as hath beene partly touched before) yet whereſoeuer they ſeated themſelues, thither preſently repaired other Strangers, leaning likewiſe the places whence the Engliſh Merchants were departed, and planting themſelues where they reſided: ſo that as long as the Company continued their Mart, or Staple in a place, ſo long grew and proſpered that place; but when they forſooke it, the welfare and good eſtate thereof ſeemed withall to depart, and forſake it, as in olde time hath beene ſeene in *Bridges*, and in our time in ſome others, and no maruell: for diligent inquiry being made in the yeare 1550. by the cõmandement of the Empe-

The Companie of M. Aduenturers is able to make and diuert a trade.

Emperour *Charles* the fifth, what benefite or commoditie came to his ſtate of the low Countries, by the haunt and commerce of Engliſh Merchants: it was found, that in the Citie of Antwerp alone, where the Companie of Merchants Aduenturers was at time reſiding, were at leaſt twenty thouſand perſons fed and maintained for the moſt part by the trade of the Merchants Aduenturers: beſides thirtie thouſand others in other places of the low Countries likewiſe maintained and fed partly by the ſaid trade, partly by endraping of cloth, and working in wool, and other commodities brought out of England. In confirmation whereof, I haue heard ancient Merchants ſay, That at the time when the abouеſaid Companie was entirely reſident at Antwerpe, a little before the troubles which fell out in the yeares 63. and 64. there were fed and maintained in the low Countries ſixtie thouſand ſoules (and ſome haue ſaid a great manie more) by the Engliſh trade, and by the wares bought in the low countries to be caried into England, which no doubt was the cauſe, that the Princes of the low Countries haue beene ſo fauourable to the abouеſaid Companie, and ſo loth to forgoe or looſe them, as knowing that therewithall they ſhould looſe a verie faire flower of their garland, yea a ſure roote and foundation of their wealth. For on the one ſide, ſuch is the value, profite, and goodneſſe of the Engliſh commodities, that all Nations of theſe parts of Europe, and elſewhere, deſire them: and on the other ſide, the Engliſh Merchants buy vp, and carrie into England ſo great a quantitie of forreigne wares, that for the ſale thereof all ſtrange Merchants do, and will repaire vnto them. Now what theſe Engliſh commodities are, & how they be ſo profitable, may appeare by the particulars following.

The profites ariſing by the Merchants Aduenturers trade and reſidence beyond the ſeas.

Firſt, there is ſhipped out yearely by the abouеſaid Companie, at leaſt ſixtie thouſand white Clothes, beſides coloured Clothes of all ſorts, Kerſies ſhort, and long, Bayes, Cottons, Northern Doſens, and diuerſe other kinds of courſe Clothes. The iuſt value of theſe ſixtie thouſand white Clothes cannot well be calculated, or ſet downe, but they are not leſſe worth (in mine opinion) then ſixe hundred thouſand pounds ſterling,

ling, or Engliſh mony. The coloured Clothes of all ſortes, Bayes, Kerſyes, Northern Doſens, and other courſe Clothes, I reckon to ariſe to the number of fortie thouſand Clothes, at leaſt, and they bee woorth one with another foure hundred thouſand poundes ſterling, or Engliſh mony.

There goeth alſo out of England, beſides theſe Woollen Clothes, into the low Countries, Wooll, Fel, Lead, Tinne, Saffron, Conyskins, Leather, Tallow, Alablaſter ſtone, Corne, Beer, and diuers other things, amounting vnto great ſummes of money: By al which Commodities, a number of labouring men are ſet on worke, and gaine much money, beſides that which the Merchants gaineth, which is no ſmall matter. Herevnto adde the money which Shippers, and men that liue vpon the water, get by fraight and portage of the aforeſaid Commodities from place to place, which would amount to a great ſumme, if the particulars thereof were, or could be exactly gathered: hereby in ſhort may be ſeene, how great and profitable the Company of the Merchants Aduenturers trade hath beene, and is in the places where they hold their Reſidence, beſides the profit raiſed vpon the Chambers, Sellers, and Packhouſes, which they muſt haue for foure or fiue hundred Merchants, whereby rents are maintained and kept vp, and the great expenſes otherwiſe, which the ſaid Merchants are at for their diet, apparell, &c. to ſay nothing of the Princes, or Generalties profit, and reuenues by their Tolles, Conuoyes, Impoſts, Axcyſes, and other dueties, whereof there can be no certaine notice had, but to ſhew the greatnes thereof, let this one ſigne ſo long agoe ſerue for all, that *Philip* the *Good*, Duke of *Burgunds*, and firſt founder of the order of the *Golden Fleece*, gaue the aforeſaid Fleeſe for a liuerie or badge of the ſaid Order, for that hee had his chiefeſt Tolles, Reuenues, and Incoms, by Wooll and Woollen Cloth: Thus you haue ſeene what profit is raiſed by ſtrãgers, vpon the Engliſh trade, it followeth to ſhew, what the M. M. Aduenturers buy for returne, of ſtrange nations, and people frequenting their Marte townes, & bringing their coũtrey cõmodities thether.

Carion Libro. 5.

Germane wares.

Of the Dutche and Germane Merchants, they buy Rheniſh

niſh Wine, Fuſtians, Copper, Steele, Hempe, Oinion ſeed, Copper and Iron Wyre, Latten, Kettles, and Pannes Linnen cloth, Harnas, Saltpeter, Gun-powder, all things made at *Norenbergh*, and in ſumme, there is no kinde of ware that Germanie yeeldeth, but generally the M. M. Aduenturers buye as much, or more thereof then any other nation.

Of the Italians, they buy all kinde of ſilke wares, Velvets, wrought and vnwrought, Taffitaes, Sattins, Damaskes, Sarſenets, Milan Fuſtians, Cloth of Gold and Siluer, Grograines, Chamlets, Sattin, and ſowing ſilke, Organzine, Orſoy, and all other kindes of wares either made or to be had in Italie. *Italian wares.*

Of the *Eaſterlings* they buye Flaxe, Hempe, Wax, Pitch, Tarre, Wainſcot, Deal-boords, Oares, Corne, Furres, Cables, and Cable yearne, Tallow, Ropes, Maſtes for Shippes, Sope-aſhes, Eſtrigd wooll & almoſt whatſoeuer is made, or groweth in the Eaſt Countries. *Eaſterlings wares.*

Of the *Portingales* they buye all kinde of Spices and Drugges: with the Spaniſh and French, they had not much to doe, by reaſon that our Engliſh Merchantes haue had a great trade in France and Spaine, & ſo ſerue England directly from thence with the Commodities of thoſe Countries. *Portingal wares.*

Of the low Country Merchants, or Netherlanders, they buye all kinde of manufacture, or hand worke not made in England, Tapeſtrie, Buckrams, White threed, Incle, Linnen cloth of all ſorts, Cambricks, Lawnes, Mather, and an infinite nũber of other things, too long to rehearſe in particular, but hereby I hope it ſufficiently appeareth, that it is of an exceeding valew, which the M. M. Aduenturers buye, and carry into England, in ſo much that I haue heard it credibly reported, that all the Commodities that come out of all other Countreys beſides England, were not wont to ſet ſo many people on worke in the low Countreys, as the Commodities which came out of England onely did, neither that any other two of the greateſt Nations that frequented the ſaid low Countries for trade, did buy, or cary out ſo much goods in value, as the M. M. Aduẽturers: The knowledge, & cõſideration whereof hath made thẽ thought worthy to be made of, che-*Netherlandiſh wares.*

niſhed,

riſhed, and deſired by Princes, States, and Commonwealths, and it would not hurt the ſtate of the Empire a whit, to hold friendſhip, and entertaine ſo profitable a Companie & Trade as this, whereby great multitudes of their poore people might be ſet on worke, and get their liuing, and in proceſſe of time grow rich thereby, as the men of Antwerp, and others of the low countries haue done, which by the practiſes of the Pope and King of Spaine, and the vnreaſonable dealing of the *Hanſer*, is in a maner kept from them. The root and ſpring of all this almoſt incredible Trade and Traffique, hath had his increaſe and proceeding from the politike gouernement, lawes, and orders deuiſed, and obſerued of olde time in the ſaid Companie, as aforeſaid: eſpecially ſince the reigne of King *Henrie* the ſeuenth, by the ſpeciall order, commandement, and encouragement of the ſaid noble Prince, one day ſtill being a Schoole-maſter vnto the other, and men by experience, vſe and knowledge of forreigne people, and their faſhions, orders, and kind of dealing growing dayly and from time to time to an exacter courſe and greater perfection of matters, and vnderſtanding of their owne eſtate, and what is fitteſt for the vpholding, and maintenance therof: Theſe ſaid ordinances containe in them all kind of good diſcipline, inſtruction and rules to bring vp youth in, and to keep them in order: ſo that the Merchants Aduenturers dwelling in the aboue mentioned Cities and Townes of the Realme of England, ſend their yong men, ſonnes, and ſeruants, or Apprentiſes, who for the moſt part are Gentlemens ſonnes, or mens children of good means or qualitie, to the Mart Townes beyond the ſeas, there to learne good faſhions, and to gaine experience and knowledge in trade, and the maners of ſtrange Nations, thereby the better to know the world betimes, and to be able to go through with the ſame, to the honor and ſeruice of their prince and countrie, and their owne wel-fare, and aduancement in the Common-wealth, whereof a very great number haue ſhewed themſelues, and at this day many are very notable and beneficiall members. Beſides, the ſaid Companie hath a Gouernour, or in his abſence, a Deputie,

and

and foure and twentie Aſſiſtantes in the Marte Towne, who haue iuriſdiction, and full authoritie as wel from her Maieſtie, as from the Princes, States and Rulers of the Low Countries, and beyond the ſeas, without Appalle, prouocation, or declination, to ende and determine all Ciuill cauſes, queſtions, and controuerſies ariſing betweene or among the brethren, members, and ſuppoſtes of the ſaid Companie, or betweene them and others, either Engliſh, or Straungers, who either may or will prorogate the Iuriſdiction of the ſaid Companie, and their court, or are ſubiect to the ſame by the priuiledges, and Charters thereunto granted.

By the ſaid Gouernour and Aſſiſtantes are alſo appointed, and choſen a Deputie, and certaine diſcreet perſons, to be Aſſociates to the ſaid Deputie, in all other places conuenient, as well within, as without the realme of England, who all hold Correſpondence with the Gouernour of the Company, and chiefe Court in the Marte Towne on the other ſide the ſeas, and haue ſubalterne power to exerciſe Merchants law, to rule, and looke to the good ordering of the Brethren of the Companie every where, as farre as may be, and their Charters will beare them out.

Further, the ſaid Company entertaineth godly and learned Preachers with liberall ſtipendes, and other benefites: hath alſo Treaſurers, Secretaries, and other needeful Officers, the end of all which is: *The ſeemely and orderly gouernment and rule of all the members, parts, and brethren of the ſayd Company whereſoeuer in their Trade, and feate of Merchandiſe. Secondly, The preſeruation of amitie, and the Enter courſe betweene the Realme of* England *and their Neighbours and Allies, and the preuenting of Innouations, griefes, wronges, and exactions contrarie to the ſame. Thirdly, The great vēt, aduancemēt, and keeping in eſtimation of Engliſh Commodities, and the bringing in of forreigne Commodities good cheape. Fourthly, The maintenance of the Nauigation. Fifthly. The increaſe of the Queenes Incomes and Cuſtomes. Sixtly, and laſtly, The honour, and ſeruice of the Prince and of our State and Countrey, at home and abroad.*

Benefites and Commodities ariſing by the Companie of the Merchants Aduenturers.

Now that all theſe benefites and commodities ariſe by the

Companie of Merchantes Aduenturers, I hope by and by, plainely to shew, and withall to proue, That by the said Company, all the aboue written points are better performed and brought to passe, then if all were set at libertie as some haue desired, and consequently that without the said Company, few, or none of the aforesaid benefits or Commodities wil be so well raised or redounde to the State, & Common wealth.

Of Rule, and Gouernment, the first point and Commoditie arising by the vnited Company of M. M. Aduenturers.

I SHALL not need to say much in commendation of good Gouernment, and Policie, as hauing before touched the same in part, and shewed how needfull and requisite it is also in matter of Commerce, Trade, and the feat of Merchandise. Now that the Companie of Merchantes Aduenturers had for this point been anciently famous, and highly praised, and esteemed of Strangers, as well as of those of their owne Countrey, and so continueth to this day (although much disturbed, and disquieted by new Tulles and Diuockes) I thinke no man doubteth, so that I take it as granted, that the State and Common wealth hereby reapeth more profit, then if men were suffered to run a loose, & irregular course without order, command, or ouersight of any: whereby many griefes, hurtes, dissentions, and inconueniences, besides no smal dishonour or the Prince, and State would in short time arise, as heretofore they haue done for want of sage and discreet gouernment, of which remedie seeing the aforesaid Companie is sufficiently prouided, and that it hath been by the experience of so many Ages, and the allowance of 11. Princes of the realme approued, me thinkes, it were an offence, and wrong vnto the State offered to goe about to alter, or hinder the same: *atq; ita Cornicũ oculos configere*

That

That the Amitie, and Entercourſe betweene the Realme of England, *and their Neighbours, and Allies, are cheriſhed, & all Innouations, griefes wrongs, and exactions contrarie to the ſame, are preuented by the maintenance of the Companie of the M. M. Aduenturers.*

THere hath been of old time, very ſtraight alliance and amitie betweene the Kings of England, and Princes of the Low Countries, eſpecially ſince the gouernment of the ſaid countries came to the hands of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, & among the ſaid Dukes, between king *Henry* 5. and *Philip*, ſurnamed the *Good*, father to *Charles* ſurnamed the *Warriour*, which *Charles* was ſlaine before the towne of *Nantes*: This Duke *Philip* had almoſt from a childe bene brought vp in the court of England, ſo that between the ſaid king and him, and their ſubiects, was a very firme league, friendſhip, & entercourſe, the cauſes whereof, and of the former amitie, and league betweene the kings of England from K. *Ed.* 3. and the ſaid Princes of the Low Countries, are reckoned to be three principally. Firſt the ayd of the ſaid Kings, in the purſute of their iuſt title to the Crowne of France. Secondly, the ſafer keeping of *Calice*, and the territories thereabouts in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Kings. And thirdly, The nearenes of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, and *Zealand* vnto the realme, and the commodious ſcituation thereof for the vent of Engliſh cõmodities, in which Prouinces the Engliſh Merchãts were at that time ſetled. This neighborly league grounded vpon the aboueſaid cauſes hath conſtantly continued euer ſince, but more nearely was confirmed betweene king *Henrie* 5. and the aboueſaid D. of *Burgundie*, who liued in the yere of our L. 1420. ſo that ſince that time it hath neuer been broken, but at the death or change of any Prince, on each part hath been renewed, confirmed, & ſometime augmented and namely between king *Henrie* 7. and king *Philip* ſonne to the Emperour *Maximiliane*, and father to *Charles* the fifth Emperour, and for the maintenance, and cheriſhing of the

ſaid league, and entercourſe, it is well knowne to thoſe which are conuerſant in Hiſtorie of things paſt, that ſince the winning of *Calice*, by King *Edward* the third, in the yeere 1347. The Kings of England haue with great Armies by lande, and Fleetes of ſhippes by ſea, inuaded the Realme of France, in the quarrel, and for the ayd of the Houſe of *Burgundie*, as well as for their owne particular claymes, and right, and eſpecially King *Henrie* the fifth, as appeareth by diuers writers of thoſe times, and ſince: but to let paſſe ſo old matters, and onely to rehearſe ſomewhat of that which hath beene done in the memorie of men yet liuing, are not long before, I wil in briefe recount ſome ſpeciall proofes of that aboueſaid, giuing this note by the way, that as the Kings of England, and the Dukes of *Burgundie* were ioyned in league and friendſhip, ſo were the French & Scots, that whenſoeuer England had warre with France, Scotland had the like with England, ſo that the Kings of England haue had alwaies double warres with the French and Scots together, & haue been forced from time to time to keepe two Annies, ſometimes three at once in the field.

Aydes giuen by the Kings of England to the Houſe of Burgundie.

In the yeere 1492. King *Henrie* the ſeuenth, in fauour and ayd of *Maximiliane*, Archduke of *Auſtrich*, and ſonne to the Emperour *Fredericke* the fourth, who had maried the Ladie *Marie*, daughter and ſole heire to *Charles* the Warricur, ſlaine before *Nantz*, as aforeſaid, and againſt whom almoſt all the Townes in Flanders rebelled and tooke armes, and with the ayd of the French beſieged the Towne of *Dixmyde*, the ſaid King ſent ouer the Lord *Dawbenye*, and the Lord *Morley*, with an Army vpon his owne charges into Flanders, who raiſed the aforeſaid ſiege & ſlew eight thouſand Frenchmen & Flemmings in the place, taking all their prouiſion and ordinance: & in the yere following, when *Nieuport*, a Towne lying vpon the ſea-coſt of Flanders was beſieged by Monſieur de *Cordes* a French man, with twentie thouſand French and Flemings, & that one of the principalleſt Towers or Bulwarks of the ſaid towne was entred, & held by the enemy, yet by the valiant reſiſtãce of ſuch Engliſh men as were within it, and freſh ſupply ſent by the aforeſaid king the foreſaid *Cordes*

was forced to leaue the said Towne with shame, and losse of many of his men, and much prouision. In the same yeare also, the said King *Henry* the seuenth sent an Armie by sea vnder the conduct of the Lord *Pominges*, to the aid of the said Archduke *Maximilian*, against the Lord of *Rauenstein*, Generall of the rebellious Flemings, who had taken the Castle & Towne of *Sluse* (the onely Hauen and Port to the seas of that old and famous Towne of *Bridges*) but the Lord *Pomings* recouered the said Castle by force, and deliuered it to *Albert* Duke of *Saxonie*, Generall for the foresaid Archduke. By the sauing of which Castle, and the aboue said Towne of *Newport*, the whole Earldome of Flanders was saued out of the hands of the French King, who otherwise, without the aide of King *Henrie* of England, had ioyned the same to the Crowne of France. In the yeare following, the said King *Henrie*, in reuenge of the great scorne and iniurie done to the aboue said Archduke by the French King, partly in returning home the Ladie *Margaret*, daughter to the said Archduke, who was affianced, and after the maner of great Princes, by Deputies maried to the said French King, and partly by getting in craftie sort the Ladie *Anne*, the only heire of the Dutchie of *Britanie* from the said Archduke, to whom she was maried, entered France with a great Armie, where the said Archduke promised to meete him with another Armie on his part, and although the said promise was not kept, yet the said king proceeded on his purpose, besieged *Bullen*, and finally, constrained the French King to seeke peace of him, and to giue him a great summe of money, with the which (and great spoyle got by his people) he returned into England, to his high honour and praise, without once seeing or hauing any helpe at all of the sayd *Maximilian*.

In the yeare 1512. at which time the French King made warres with *Ferdinando* King of Spaine, & inuaded his Countries by land, King *Henrie* the eight (of famous memorie) sent an aid of tenne thousand men by sea into Spaine, vnder the leading of the Noble Lord, the Lord *Thomas Grey* Marquis Dorset, at the request of the aboue mentioned *Maximilian*,

then Emperour, whoſe only ſonne and heire *Philip* had maried *Ioan*, the daughter and heire of the abouesaid *Ferdinando*. Two yeares after this, the ſaid King *Henrie*, in fauour and defence of the young Prince or infant of Spaine, *Charles*, grandchild to the abouesaid *Maximilian*, and afterwards Emperour himſelfe, went ouer in perſon with a mightie armie into France, and beſieged the ſtrong Towne of *Terwin*, which finally was yeelded vnto him, maugre the whole power of Fraunce: after he had diſcomfited and ouerthrowne in battell the French Armie, ſlaying eight or tenne thouſand in the place, and taking priſoners the Duke *de Longueville*, the Marquiſſe *Retelois*, and beſides, 240. Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of name and honour. In which battell the abouesaid Emperour with at leaſt fortie or fiftie of the Nobilitie of the low Countries, ſerued vnder the Kings Standerd, receiuing wages of him, and wearing the red Croſſe or Cognizance of England. After the rendring ouer of *Terwin*, the ſaid King brought his Armie before the Citie of *Tournay*, or *Dornick*, at that time termed the Maiden Citie (for that it neuer had beene wonne by Prince) but King *Henrie* got it, and hauing taken order for the ſure keeping thereof, returned the way that he came, being a long march of 63. miles with great honour and glorie, into England. And in the meane while the Duke of *Norfolke*, and his ſonne the Earle of *Surry* had diſcomfited an armie of fiftie thouſand Scots, vnder the leading of their King *Iames* the fourth, who was ſlaine in the field with fourteene thouſand of his people, whereof many were of the Nobilitie, beſides 12. Earles, 20. Lords, 40. or 50. knights, and many Gentlemen taken priſoners.

In the yeare 1514. the ſaid king *Henrie* the eight did ſend a band of 1500. choiſe ſouldiours, vnder the leading of the Lord *Clinton*, vnto the aide of the Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the low Countries againſt the Duke of Gelderland.

In the yeare 1530. a perpetuall peace was agreed vpon, and ſworn at *Paris* in France, betwixt the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, the king of England, and the French king, during their three liues: and which of the three ſhould firſt violate,

or

or breake this peace, the other two were bounde to set vpon him, as their open and ioynt enemie: this peace was first broken on the French kings part, by reason of a quarrell betweene the Emperour and the said king, whereupon the king of England, for his oath and promise sake, sent ouer into France a great Armie, vnder the leading of the Duke of *Suffolke*, and prepared a great Fleet of ships by sea, to annoy the said Countrie, & by this meanes drew the Scots against him: for the Duke of *Albany* in ayd of the French entred England, and began to spoile the borders thereof, against whom the Earle of *Surrey* was sent, who forced the Scots to retire, to their great losse and dishonour, and entred Scotland at their heeles, burning and spoiling the Country afore him, and returning with great praie and bootie.

In the yeare 1543. the said king *Henry* the eight sent ouer Sir *Iohn Wallop*, and other Gentlemen, with a band of sixe thousand men, to the aide of the foresaid Emperor *Charles*, when he went to *Landersey*. And in the yeare 1545. the said king in person with two Armies went ouer into Fraunce, in aide of the said Emperour *Charles*, at which time he besieged and tooke *Bullen*: but how ill the said Emperour kept promise with the said king, & afterward without his knowledge or priuity, made peace with the French king, I shall not need to say much, as being partly fresh in mans memorie, & partly commended to writing by such as liued in those dayes. *St. Lawes lib. 6*

In the yeare 1557. Queene *Marie* in fauour of her husband king *Philip*, and by his procurement and meanes, made warres vpon Fraunce, sending ouer an Armie by sea, vnder the Lord *Clinton*, high Admirall of England, into Britanie, where they landed, spoyled, and burnt a great way into the Countrey: And another Armie of ten thousand men by land, vnder the Earles of *Penbroke*, *Bedford*, and *Rutland*, by whose help king *Philip* got the strong Towne of *S. Quintins*, & had his will of the French king. But the English by these warres, and breaking peace with France for king *Philips* sake, lost the Towne of *Calice*, which the predecessors of the said Queene had kept in spight of all France 210. yeares before that time.

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What other priuie helpes Queene *Marie* gaue vnto her ſayd Husband, few or none can tell, but it is thought, he had many an hundred thouſand pounds from her, that all the world knew not of. Theſe warres haue the kings of England taken in hand, and theſe aydes from time to time haue they giuen to the houſe of *Burgundie*, beſides great, and vnknowne ſummes of money lent, in ſo much, that in the opinion of men of knowledge and experience, it coſt the Realme of England three ſcore times an hundred thouſand pounds at leaſt, in the quarrell and defence of the Princes of the ſaid houſe, within the compaſſe of 76. yeares after that *Maximilian* maried with the Lady *Marie*, daughter to *Charles* the *Warriour*, and heire to the ſaid houſe. To ſay nothing of that which happened before, and now of late hath fallen out ſince the troubles in the low Countries, in all which the Kings & Queenes of England haue ſhewed themſelues faithfull and friendly Princes, and good Neighbours and Allies to the ſaid low Countries, and truly and readily haue holpen, and ſtood by the Princes thereof in their greateſt neede and extremitie: whereas we cannot reade, that thoſe of the houſe of *Burgundy* euer made warres againſt Scotland, or France, in helpe of the Kings of England directly: neither were they or any of them euer required thereunto but once, and that was in the dayes of King *Edward* the ſixt, being then but eight or nine yeares of age, and at ſuch time as he had both warre with Scotland and France at once, and beſides was troubled with a great rebellion of his ſubiects at home: for which cauſe a ſolemne Embaſſage was ſent to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who layd before the ſaid Emperour the feeble eſtate of the ſaid King *Edwards* infancie and tender yeares, and the commotion of his ſubiects, euen vpon the neck of the warres & troubles with Fraunce and Scotland, putting the ſaid Emperour in mind of the great Armies, which at ſundrie times had beene ſent out of England in aid of his father, and grandfather, and alſo of the dangerous and chargeable warres begun, and taken in hand by King *Henrie* the eight, the ſaide Kings father, for the quarrell of the ſaid Emperour alone, as then but an infant

Embaſſage to the Emperour Charles the fifth from King Edward the ſixth.

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him, and *Henrie* the French king, wherein the Burgundians felt the want of their old truſtie friends and Allies the king of England, and his people. And vndoubtedly, if the kings of England had not continually aided and aſſiſted the houſe of Burgundie, & the low Countries, they had both been French before this day: or if the French King might haue beene ſure of England, and without feare thereof bent his whole forces by ſea, and by land againſt the houſe of *Burgundie*, & Spaine, neither ſhould the Emperor haue got ſo much aduantage, as he did againſt the French king, neither haue bin able to haue troubled Germany, & the Germane Princes, nor other Princes, States, & countries, as he did, neither ſhould he haue gotten ſo much poſſeſſion & dominion in Italy, and other places, as he got, neither laſtly, ſhould his ſubiects haue obtained ſo great wealth & riches, nor ſo much knowledge by land and ſea, as they haue done. For ſurely, he, and his people may thanke the Kings of England for all theſe things: for the ayd of the ſaid Kings, and the traffique and reſort of the Engliſh Merchants haue bin the principall cauſes thereof: & therfore great reaſon had the Dukes of Burgundy to ſeeke the friendſhip and amitie of the Kings of England, and to cheriſh and augment the ſame by Treaties, and Entercourſe from time to time, which are yet continued in force: and whereof the foreſaid Company of Merchants Aduenturers haue ſo good notice, record, and vnderſtanding, that vpon anie occaſion whatſoeuer, they haue them ready, therby to defend the right of the Realme, and ſubiects thereof, againſt ſuch as would either wilfully, or vnawares breake and violate the ſame, which ought to remaine as ſacred, and vntouched, for the preſeruation of mutuall friendſhip and amitie betweene both nations, which oftentimes for want of due care, and prouiſion on this behalfe in time, might turne into open ennimitie, and alienation of good will, not without daunger of warre in the end, if ſome men might haue their willes. As in the yeare 1564. *Don Geraldo Deſpes* Embaſſador for the king of Spaine in England, at the inſtance of the Cardinall *Granvelle*, deale with a Stranger, yet liuing in England, and well knowne there

Don Giraldo Deſpes.

there, to draw out a ſummarie of all the doleances of the low Country Merchants, promiſing redreſſe therein, or to bring the matter to an open warre: which whether the ſaid ſtranger did or not, I cannot iuſtly ſay, but it is like enough his buſie head conſidered, and he hath conceiued no ſmall diſcontentment of old, that things go not, as he would faine haue them in England, for his owne particular fancies ſake, and employment, without regarding the alteration of times, or breach of Amitie, which might fall out betweene her Maieſtie and the States of the vnited low Countries for that cauſe, ſo he might come to his purpoſe. For immediately vpon this followed that violent proceeding of the Dutcheſſe of *Parma*, in baniſhing of Engliſh Cloth and Commodities out of the low Countries, by means whereof, the Commerce and trade for a time ſurceaſed, not without perill of warre betweene the Princes and their people. The Companie therefore of the Merchants Aduenturers are a great obſtacle to the raiſing and bringing in of new, and vnwonted Tolles, Impoſts, exactions, and grieuances, which otherwiſe the ſubiects of the Realme of England, their ſhips and goods would bee charged with, and oppreſſed, contrarie to the Treaties of Amity, and Entercourſes, to the empouriſhing of the ſaid ſubiects, and the hinderance of the Nauigation: which commeth to paſſe by meanes and helpe of their common purſe, and by officers maintained to keepe regiſter of all things needfull, and to defend theſe common cauſes from time to time, when any Innouation or ſtrange exaction is brought in, tending to the hurt & hindrance of the Merchants, Mariners, and ſeafaring men, and conſequently, to the dammage and preiudice of the whole ſtate. And this a particular man is not able to do, for either his purſe, or meanes will not reach vnto it, or elſe being loth to ſpend his money and time, or to hinder his affaires, and trade hereabours, will rather yeelde vnto a wrong: whereby it commeth to paſſe by little & little, that the ancient rights of the Realme are either leſſened, or infringed, & that, which ought not to be ſuffered, vnwonted tallages, taxes, and impoſitions, are leuied vpon the ſubiects,

to his great grieuance, and empouerishing, and to the bringing of the Trade into strangers hands only: a thing of long time practised, and laboured for by them, & chiefly preuented and withstood by the Companie of Merchants Aduenturers: which hath stirred vp the Easterlings, and some Merchants of *Antwerp* of late dayes against them: the Easterlings continue still in their pride of heart and indurate malice, the Antwerpians and their new-borne Colledge (the troubles growing vpon them) were forced to be quiet, though within these three yeeres, their first and last (perhaps) Consul, and Secretarie haue sollicited the States Generall of the vnited Prouinces with their complaints and accusations to embrace and renew their old quarrels and pretences, and to set vp on foote againe their decayed Consulate, in recompence of the good seruices heretofore done (which I could wish examined, for that they vaunt themselues thereof) and for the great benefite, that may hereafter redound to the said vnited lands by the same, as they would haue the said States beleeue. The true purpose and drift whereof is nothing els (as I said) but to eat the Aduenturers out of their trade, as they of *Antwerp* heretofore did the Merchants of other nations, Portugals, Italians, Durches or Germans, and others, whereby they greatly enriched themselues, their prince and countrey: which finally turned to the hurt, danger, & disquieting of all other Princes and States, as hath appeared by the doings and practises of the late King *Philip* of Spaine, and his Confederates. And to shew that this which I haue said is true, I will by the way more particularly rip vp this matter.

The Antwerpians eate the Merchants of other Nations out of their trade.

First, for the Portingall, we know, that like a good simple man, he sayled euerie yeare full hungerly (God wot) about 3. parts of the earth almost for spices, & when he had brought them home, the great rich purses of the Antwerpians, subiects of the King of Spaine, ingrossed them all into their own hands, yea oftentimes gaue money for them before hand, making thereof a plaine Monopoly: whereby they only gained, and all other nations lost. For that the spices, being in few mens handes, were sold at such a rate, as they lifted, to their owne

owne priuate lucre and gaine, and to the hurt and damage of all others.

The Italians, Engliſh and Germane Merchantes, were wont to haue a very profitable, and good trade into Italie with Kerſyes, and other Engliſh, and forreigne commodities ſeruing that Countrey, but a litle before the troubles of the Low Countryes, the Antwerpians were growne into that trade, and were become the greateſt dealers that way, and further, to *Alexandria*, *Cypres*, *Tripolie in Siria*, and other remote places ſeruing the ſame more then any other, with linnen cloth, Worſteds, Sayes, Tapeſtrie, & other Netherlandiſh wares, by meanes whereof the ſaid Italians, Engliſh and Germanes were forced to leaue that trade, or to doe very little.

The Dutch or Germane Merchants had the whole trade in their owne handes, of all Commodities brought to *Antwerpe* from other places, that ſerued Germanie, buying vp all themſelues, and carying them to the Townes and Marres in their owne Countrey: but in a few yeeres the Antwerpians had alſo wholy got that trade, and the Germanes in a maner, did nothing, for the other in all the Marts, & Faires in Dutchland, bare the chiefeſt ſwindge, and ſerued the ſame with Commodities of all Landes, and of all ſorts, ſo that looke what the Germane vſed to get, that they got, eating as it were the bread out of his mouth.

As for the *Eaſterlings*, they had begun a Staple of their Commodities at *Antwerpe*, but in the opinion of wiſe men, if it had long continued, it would haue eaten out cleane, and conſumed their Marchantes and Marriners from the Seas, as they beganne not a litle to be diminiſhed by thoſe of *Amſterdam*, and other, but new vpſtarte townes in Holland, with their great number of Hulkes, and other Shippes: of the Spaniſh trade, and Merchantes of Spaine, becauſe they were King *Philips* ſubiects, there is not ſo much to be ſaid, but yet the Antwerpians had meanes, to get a good fleece from them too: for the Merchantes of *Antwerpe* beeing of great wealth, were able to ſell thoſe Commodities, which beſt ſerued Spaine, and the Indies, at long dayes of payment, and by

meanes thereof did ſet them at ſuch high, and deare prices, that when the dayes of payment came, and the Spaniard lacked his returnes, to keepe credite with, hee was forced to run vpon the Exchange, or Intereſt, till his prouiſion came in, by which time his gaines was conſumed by vſarie, and many times ſome of the principall: beſides, they ſold the Spaniard their worſt wares, and carryed the choyſeſt themſelues into Spaine, whether they traded more, then all the Spaniards in the land did. For the trade of the Marchants of France: there hath beene often warre betweene that Countrey and the Dukes of *Burgundie*, as hath been aboue partly touched, by meanes whereof, there hath beene much colouring of good between the one Princes people & the other, and that ſo ordinarily, and cunningly, that the *Antwerpians* aboue all the Marchants beſides, were as priuie, expert, and skilfull in all the French trickes, and indirect trades and conueyances, as the Frenchmen themſelues, by reaſon whereof in time of peace the French Merchants were much endamaged, and hindred: for the *Antwerpians* ſerued Germanie, Spaine, Portingale, Eſtland, and their neighbours of the Lowe Countries, with ſuch things as the Frenchmen themſelues vſed to ſell, and vent in thoſe places: Now let vs looke a while into England and take a view, what the *Antwerpians* and other Netherlanders, principally thoſe of *Antwerpe*, haue done there, and you ſhall find that not paſt 80. yeeres agoe, there were not in all *London* aboue twelue or ſixteene Low Countrie Marchants, and amongſt them, not paſt foure of any credite, or eſtimation. For the Merchandiſe which they then brought into England moſt, were ſtone pottes, bruſhes, puppets, and toyes for children, brittles for ſhoomakers, and ſuch other pedlery ware of ſmall valew, and ſometimes a litle fiſh, and three or foure peeces of linnen cloth, but in leſſe then the compaſſe of fortie yeres following, there were in *London*, at leaſt one hundred Netherlandiſh Merchantes, the moſt part whereof were of *Antwerpe*, and thither they brought all kinde of wares, which the Merchantes of Italie, Germanie, Spaine, France, and Eaſtland (of all which nations there were before

before that time diuers famous and notable rich Merchants and Companies) vſed to bring into England out of their own Countries directly, to the great damage of the ſaid ſtrangers, and of the naturall borne Engliſh Marchants, which Engliſh Merchants and their trade alſo the Netherlanders (but eſpecially thoſe of *Antwerpe*) as much as in them laye, euen then ſought, and practiſed to deſtroy, and ouerthrowe, and ſince hath beene many yeres about it, which in good time was diſcouered, and by diligence and trauaile of the Merchants Aduenturers principally, not without their great coſt and charge hath been hitherto withſtood and preuented, and ſo will bee ſtill ſo long, as that Companie continueth on foot, let the other repine and mutter at it, as much as they liſt, and ſeeke to croſſe and hinder the Aduenturers whereſoeuer they can procure audience with their vnſeaſonable Remonſtrances, ſpitefull Declarations, & harſh Complaints, to the raiſing vp, as much as in them lyeth, of the like ſtirre and diſagreement betweene her Maieſtie, and the States of the vnited Netherlands, at this time, as happened in the yeere 1563. vnder the gouernment of the Dutcheſſe of *Parma*, Regent for the late king *Philip* of Spaine, at that time in the Lowe Countryes: when as through the complaint of the Merchants of *Antwerp* principally, & of others of the ſaid Low Countries, againſt the raiſing of the Cuſtome of cloth, & of forreigne wares, brought into England, & ſpecially againſt an Act of Parliament made for the ſetting of her Maieſties people on worke, by vertue wherof forreign wares, as pinnes, kniues, hats, girdles, ribbin, and ſuch like, were forbidde to be brought in ready wrought, to the intent, that her Highnes ſubiects might be imployed in making therof, the ſaid Dutches of *Parma* by proclamatiõ forbad the carying into Englãd of any kinde of matter, or thing, wherwith the ſaid wares might be made, & baniſhed out of the Low Countries all *Manufacture*, or handywork, as bayes, &c. made in England, cloth & kerſye only excepted, which alſo ſhe afterwardes forbad to bee brought in vpon paine of confiſcation, vnder ſhew, or pretence of infection, (for that the plague had reigned very ſore in *London* & other places of the

the Realme that Summer) but in very trueth the right cause was, for that she could not haue her will in the aboue mentioned points, and tooke that time of mortalitie, & want of trade in England to be the readiest and fittest opportunitie to attaine thereunto. So that finally the Merchants Aduenturers, after they had kept their Clothes & other goods aboord their ships in the Riuer of *Thames*, and *Scheld* fiue moneths together and might not be permitted to land them at *Antwerpe*, were at length forced to depart with the same vnto the towne of *Embden*, in Eastfriseland, where they obteined priuiledges and contracted for a free Commerce with the two yong Earles *Egdard* and *Iohn*, and the Lady *Anne* Countesse of *Oldenburghe* their Mother Anno 1564. who neither feared nor found any contagion in the English and their Commodities, and by this meanes brake the violence of the aforesaid Dutchesses intention, erecting their trade in the abouesaid town, and leauing *Antwerpe* and the Low Countries, whereupon King *Philip* and his ministers grieued sore that they could not haue their will of her Maiestie, and her Highnesse subiectes, and that they must forgoe so profitable a Milch-cowe as the English Trade was vnto the Lowe Countries: an Edict or Proclamation was set foorth in the Moneth of Maye of the abousaid yeere, That no person in the saide Lowe Countries should haue, or vse any Trade with the English at *Embden*, buy any Cloth or English Woollen Commoditie of them, or carry them any wares vpon paine of confiscation of the same: then the which dealing what could be more iniurious, or enemy-like in time of open warres? But herein the said King not onely shot at the State of England, but withall bee endammaged other Nations, and particularly those of the Empire, as though no Countrie Merchantes ought to trade any where, but in his Countries, and when, and where, and with whom it pleased him, thereby to hold all the whole trade of Merchandise in his Netherlãds alone, forbidding vpon paine of losse of goods the Imperiall Merchantes, as well as others, from occupying, buying or selling within the limites of the Empire, as though he had been Emperour himselfe, and more then

Prohibition of all Trade with the English by king Philip.

then Emperour: In which point hee touched very neare the top and height of the Emperiall Crowne and Dignitie, in that being but Duke of *Burgundie*, & that in respect but a subiect of the Empire, he tooke vpon him peremptorily, to command, restraine, forbid, and iniuriously to breake the old, and ancient freedoms, and liberties of the Empire freely yeelded, and so long religiously maintained and kept, as well toward all the subiects, as towardes all the friendes and Allies of the same, amongst which friends the English haue been continually not the least, or last, as fetching their originall out of the said holy Empire. At length when the king of Spaine, for all the instigation of the Netherlanders and popish ministers, saw that hee could not preuaile, and were at a stand, hee and they were glad and fayne to come to a prouisionall agreement, and to accept of such priuiledges and liberties, as the said Netherlanders enioyed in England in the last yeere of Q. *Maries* reigne: which was the yere of our L. 1558. and to call in all those foresaid Placates, Edictes and Prohibitions, made against the English, and bringing in of English wares.

And although in the yeere following, and the yere 1566. a diete was held at *Bridges*, for the taking vp, and compounding of all variances difficulties and greiuances, by certaine Embassadours sent from both Princes, yet nothing was concluded, the Custome about the which the first and most question grew, were for al the Netherlandish Merchants wrangling and importunitie continued, as hauing beene erected in Queene *Maries* dayes (King *Philip* their naturall prince being married to her) and the former agreement made in the yeere 1564 between the Queenes Counsell and Don *Guzman de Silua* Embassadour for the abouesaid king stoode, and so remayned in force til the yere 1568. when as the D. of *Alua* in the Low Countries, and king *Philip* throughout Spaine caused the persons, and goods of the English Merchantes, to be arrested, and stayed vpon this occasion: it happened in the abouesaid yeere 1568. that a great ship of *Biscaie*, and foure pinasses which the Spaniards call *Alsabres*, were chased by certaine men of warre belonging to the Prince of *Conde*, into

the Hauen of *Plimmoth*: in which great ship were the valew of two hundred thousand Pistolettes, which money the Spanish Embassadour at that time in England, *Don Giraldo Despes*, required to haue deliuered to him, as belonging to the king his Master, with consent to conueigh the same to *Antwerpe* vnto the Duke of *Alua*, which was granted him, but while he attended order frō the said Duke, about the safe sending of the said money, her Maiestie came to the knowledge that it did not belong to the king of Spaine, but vnto certaine Merchants of *Genua*, & that the Duke of *Alua* needing money, meant to leaze vpon the same, and turne it to the K. vse. Which the owners fearing, chose rather, that it should remaine in the Queenes hands. Whereupon, her Maiestie caused all the money to be landed, saying that she would borow it of the Italians, with their good will and liking, and so preserue it from the French, who threatned to fetch it by force out of the Hauen where it lay. The Duke as soone as hee had knowledge thereof, suddenly commanded all the Merchants Aduenturers to be arrested at *Antwerpe*, and caused them to be kept safe in the English house, with a company of Dutch souldiers: he commanded also the ships and goods of all the English Merchants as well at *Antwerpe* as elsewhere, to be attached, and inuentarised, which he afterwards sold to *Fernando Frias* a Spaniard & others, to the vse of the K. of Spaine. When her Maiestie vnderstood of this hastie and vnaduised dealing of the D. *Alua*, she gaue leaue vnto her Subiects for their Indempnitie, to arrest the Netherlanders & their goods in England: By the meanes of these generall arrestes on both sides, the trade of the M.M. Aduenturers ceased at *Antwerp*, but for the sale of the commoditie of the land, they presently contracted with the Towne of *Hamborough*, and there helde their Martes onely for a time: The Duke of *Alua* on the other side to hinder the trade, and consequently to hurt the State of England, the last day of March 1569. by straight proclamation forbad all dealing with the English, either in carrying them any wares, or buying of them English commodities, to be brought into the low Countries, appointing for the

The Duke of Alua arresteth the persons and goods of the English in Antwerpe and elsewhere in the Low Countreys.

more

more ſeuere execution thereof certaine ſpyes, or promoters, among the which as principall, was Doctor *Storie*, of whoſe ſhameful & weldeſerued puniſhment & end, there is yet freſh memory; but theſe differences and troubles, were afterwards in the yere 1574. at a Diete held at *Briſtow* taken vp & agreed, & the Entercourſe was renewed & confirmed in ſuch maner, as was concluded at *Bridges* in the yeere 66. to the high honour and commendation of her Maieſtie, who medled not with one penie of the arreſtes goods, but gaue the ſame wholy ouer vnto her ſubiects, in recompence of their loſſes in the low Countries, and honourably contented the owners of the money (about the which the queſtion & trouble firſt aroſe) for the ſame: Whereas to the contrary the king of Spaine neuer recompenced his ſubiectes for their damages, but as is ſaid, conuerted all the Engliſh Marchants goods, which hee found in the low Countries or in Spaine to his owne vſe, without hauing the leaſt conſideration of the loſſe of any man. By the aboue written diſcourſe wee may perceiue the ſleightes, practiſes, & induſtrie of the *Antwerpians*, and Netherlanders, to drawe the trades of all nations into their owne handes, the proud, vnneighbourly, yea enemilike Edictes and Proſcriptions of the Dutcheſſe of *Parma*, vpon the vnreaſonable complaintes & demands of her Merchants, no doubt egged on by the Cardinall *Granuelle* in hatred of the Religion profeſſed in England: the raſh & vnaduiſed arreſts, & detaining of the perſons, and goods of the M. M. Aduentures & others in the Low Countries, and Spaine, by the K. and the D. of *Alua*, the *Heroicall* courage, wiſedome, and equitie of our grarious Queen in defence, and releſe of her ſubiects, wronged & ſpoyled in barbarous ſort, contrary to reaſon, & againſt the Entercourſe, and Treaties ſworne, and eſtabliſhed between both nations, and the Princes thereof: And laſtly, the great care, & trauaile of the M. M. Aduenturers in the middeſt of all theſe troubles, and their exceeding great loſſes, & hinderances, to ſeek, and procure a place, Firſt at *Embde*, thē at *Hamborough*, for vent of the commoditie of the realme, and maintenance of the trade, wherby ſo many liue, the ouerthrow and deſtruction wherof,

hath been the principall marke and purpoſe of all the aboue mentioned complaints, edicts, proſcriptions, and arreſts, and is now at this day of all the violent machinations, and workings of the king of Spaine, and his miniſters and fauourers (to which partie the *Hanſes* adioyne themſelues with might and mayne) thinking thereby to ſtirre vp ſome notable commotion, trouble or diſorder in the State of England, and ſo the ſooner to bring to paſſe their long purpoſed bloody, and treacherous practiſes againſt the precious life of her Maieſtie, (whom the Lord long preſerue amongſt vs) and againſt the true Religion, and Church of CHRIST planted in her Highneſſe Dominions, and in ſteed thereof to ſet ſtrangers ouer vs and to reeſtabliſh poperie, and ſo laſtly, bring the whole Engliſh people and ſubiectes of her Maieſtie into miſerable ſhuerie of bodie and conſcience, vnder an vngodly and ſuperſtitious nation, from the which the Almighty GOD in mercy keepe vs, and our poſteritie, that wee may ſee peace in our dayes, and that there may bee reſt in the Church vnto the end of the world. But to returne to my purpoſe.

That the better and greater vent and aduancement of Engliſh Commodities, and the bringing in of forreigne wares (good cheape) is procured by the Company of Merchants Aduenturers.

THE next benefite which ariſeth to the Prince and State by the maintenance of the Companie of the Marchantes Aduenturers is, The better and greater vent, and aduancement of Engliſh Commodities, and the bringing in good cheape of forreigne wares. Which to be ſo, not onely, that which hath paſſed heretofore, but alſo freſh experience hath ſufficiently manifeſted: for firſt it is plaine, as hath been aboue touched, that in times long paſt, and euen of late yeeres, the M.M. Aduenturers did ſettle themſelues in ſome one towne of the low Countries, and there ſtapling the Woollen cloth, kerſyes and

ether

other the commodities of the Realme of England, in good and merchantlike order, and vnder good & prudent Gouernment, did attend the Merchants ſtrangers, which ſhould repaire vnto the ſaid Towne (cómonly termed the Mart Town) to buy the ſaid Clothes, Kerſies, &c. or to ſel, or barter vnto the Merchants Aduenturers ſuch forreigne commodities, as were moſt fit, and neceſſarie for the Realme of England, by means wherof great numbers of Merchants of Eaſtland, Germany, Italy, and almoſt out of all the Townes and Prouinces of the lowe Countries, reſorted to that mart town: and there in moſt ample, friendly, and merchantlike maner did traffike, & deale with the ſaid M.M. Aduenturers, whereby the Engliſh Commodities were kept and holden in ſingular credit & eſtimation, & all kind of forreigne wares were returned, & brought in at reaſonable & low prices, not onely to the good of the Common wealth of England in generall, and the benefite of the M.M. Aduenturers in particular, but alſo to the great ſatisfaction, contentment, & good liking of all the abouеſaid forreigne States & people: inſomuch, that ſome great perſonages, drawne with the verie report of the ſeemly dealing, cariage, & orders of the Company of M.M. Aduēturers, haue repaired to the Mart Towne, to behold & ſee the ſame.

This courſe deriued from common reaſon, and approued by Experience (the ſureſt Doctor in the ſchoole of mans life) many yeeres together hath beene obſerued, and continued in the abouеſaid Company, as a principal point, & one of the maine poſtes, & pillers of the ſame. For firſt, it cannot be denied, that to aduance any thing, & to make it of price and eſtimation, is to bring it in requeſt: Secondly, to bring it in requeſt, is to draw a concourſe & multitude to deſire it: And laſtly, the beſt meanes to draw a Concourſe & multitude, is to appoint a certaine place, whither men may commodiouſly reſort, where alſo if they may find, not onely that which they deſire & haue need of, but withall may vent that which their Countrie bringeth forth, and hath plentie of, it is a double cauſe & allurement to inuite them to ſuch concourſe and flocking together. From this reaſon is the order & inſtitution

of the Mart-Towne ſo long, and ſo ſeriouſly practiſed and maintained by the Merchant Aduẽturers, which to be ſoundly and well grounded, I thinke no man will gainſay: next, late experience as well at home, as abroad, hath taught vs, that when another courſe was liked of by ſome, & that diuers of the Company had disbanded themſelues, and held not the aforeſaid commendable & Merchantlike courſe, but erected vnto themſelues a priuate, irregular, and ſtragling Trade, the commoditie of the Realme lay vnuented, or grew to be embaſed, & ſold at lower prices then before. For when as about fourteen yeares paſt, in the 29th yere of her Maieſties reigne, the Wool growers, Clothiers, Weauers, and others liuing vpon Cloth-making, wanting their accuſtomed commodity, gaines, and worke, made a grieuous complaint thereof, it was thought to be the only expedient to remedy this ſore, to giue libertie to all her Highneſſe ſubiects, and others, to buy and tranſport Cloth, according to the limitation of the lawes, anie grants or priuiledges by her Maieſties Prerogatiue heretofore to the Merchants Aduenturers graunted notwithſtanding: yet we ſaw, that the maladie was neuer a whit the better, but rather grew worſe & worſe, inſomuch that the poore people in *Wiltſhiere* and *Glocesterſhiere*, liuing wholly vppon Cloth-making, in great numbers were readie to growe into a mutinie for this cauſe, to the ſingular reioycing of the enemies of her Maieſtie, and in particular of the *Hanſes*, who deſire nothing more, then the ouerthrowe of the M. M. Aduenturers and their Trade: thereby finally entending to diſturbe the peace of the whole Realme. At length, when all men expected nothing elſe but an aboliſhment, and diſſoluing of the abouesaid Companie, as the ſole and onely cauſe of all this griefe, the ſetting vp of the Steelyard againe, & the equalling of all the ſubiects, and others in the Realme, in tranſporting, and carrying out of Cloth: none of all theſe things fell out, but to the contrarie, thoſe of the ſaid Company were ſent for, and after they had beene heard, and had made knowne the true cauſe of the abouesaid ſore indeed, they were willed to proceed in their trade, with promiſe of aſſiſtance, and countenance

Complaints of the wool-growers & Clothiers for want of trade.

tenance from my Lords, and others of the Counſell: which aſſuredlie their Honors would not haue done, if that they had ſeene, that the late innouation or libertie had brought forth, or was likely to bring forth the promiſed effect: or that without the ſaid Companie of Merchants Aduenturers, ſo great a quantitie of the woollen commodities of the Realme could be vented, as in former times, when the ſaid Merchants Aduenturers were maintained, and backed in their ful Priuiledges and Rights.

THe Merchants Aduenturers were at this time encombred with no ſmall difficulties: for that neither of their Mart-Townes (*Embden* and *Middelburgh*) were very ſafe, or fit for the vtterance of their Commodities, neither knewe they where to find a place conuenient for that purpoſe. For at *Middelbourgh*, partly through the continuall loanes of great ſummes of money, vpon the necke one of another required at their hands, without warrant or authoritie from her Maieſtie, and partly through the feare of danger they were put in by the Earle of *Leiceſter*, then Gouernour of the vnited prouinces, the Trade was in a maner wholy damped, and diuerſe of the principalleſt of the Companie in that place, almoſt in flying maner, withdrew themſelues, & their goods into Holland. At *Embden* on the other ſide, things were in no verie good tearmes, by reaſon of the Duke of *Parmaes* preuailing in the prouinces next adioyning, and that the States ſent their men of warre into the riuer of *Embs*, whereby the trade by land grew exceeding penllous, and by water troubleſome & chargeable: ſome alſo to mend the matter, ſticked not to put into mens minds a ſuſpition of the Count *Egdard* of *Eaſtfriſtland*, as a ſecret Penſioner & fauorer of the King of Spain: and ſure it is, that his chiefe Officer *Ocko Freez*, then Droſſart of *Embden*, ſhewed himſelfe by many ſignes & actions, verie much inclined to the Spaniſh part. The *Hanſes* alſo in the yere 1582. at an Aſſembly of the Empire at *Auſburgh*, by fauour & aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh miniſters, & of the Princes & Prelats of the Romiſh religion (the moſt part whereof were at the de-

deuotion of the houſe of *Auſtrich*) had vpon their complaints and iniurious informations obtained a Decree, for the expelling of the Trade and reſidence of the Merchants Aduenturers out of the Empire, and otherwiſe by new occaſions of loſſes, ſuſtained at ſea by Engliſh men of warre (though nothing were done to thē contrarie to the law of Nations) were ſo incenſed, not onely againſt the ſaid Merchants Aduenturers, but alſo againſt the whole Engliſh name, ſo that there was litle or no hope or liklihood to find any friendſhip, or good entertainment at their hands.

Commiſſioners ſent to treat with the Hamburgers of new priuiledges.

The Companie, all theſe difficulties notwithſtanding, taking new courage, and moued in dutie towards her Maieſtie, and their Natiue Countrie, in the yeare 1587. ſent their Commiſſioners Sir *Richard Saltonſtall* Knight, at that time their Gouernour, and Doctor *Giles Fletcher*, a Ciuilian, vnto *Hambrough* with foure ſhips loaden with cloath, to trie the minds of that people, and whether they could procure a reſidence in that Towne againe (whither they were inuited by letters of the 19. of Auguſt 1586. from the Senate) The Hamburgers notwithſtanding their ſaid letters, by the inſtigation of the Duke of *Parma*, who at this time was wholly intentiue in a maner to the matters of England, and had inckling of a commotion doubted among the Commons there, for want of worke (the appeaſing or encreaſe whereof much depended vpon the M.M. Aduenturers Trade, and therefore ſought by all means to diſturbe it) held themſelues verie nice and coy, and hauing daily in their Counſell Doctour *Weſtendorp* of *Groeninghe*, ſent thither by *Verdugo*, Gouernor of Weſtfriſeland for the King of Spaine, delayed and dallied with the foreſayd Commiſſioners, ſo that after much labour ſpent, nothing in the end was concluded: for the Hamburgers being certified by the aboueſaid Doctor *Weſtendorp*, of the great prepaiation in hand, & the inuaſion intēded by the king of Spaine againſt England, of the happie ſucceſſe whereof he promiſed and preſumed much: and of the which the Hamburghers (it ſhuld ſeeme) conceiued no ſmal hope, vpon euerie dayes newes either confirmed, or recalled that, which before

fore hand with much a do, had beene passed & agreed vpon betweene them, and the Merchants Aduenturers Commissioners, excusing this their light dealing sometime by the vnwillingnes of their Commons (whose consents, as they sayd, they could not obtaine) otherwhiles, by want of authoritie from the rest of the *Hanses*, without whose priuitie and liking they might not conclude any such thing: and yet they had written the contrarie in the abouesaid letter, in these words: *Neque tamen ad has nostras priuatas Consultationes reliquarum Ciuitatum Confederatarũ consensum requirendum arbitramur.* So that in fine the Commissioners being wearied with these delayes, and finding that at *Stade*, a Towne not farre distant from *Hambourgh*, the Trade might be wel seated, thither they repaired, & procured a residence, & Priuiledges there in the moneth of September 1587. This town of *Stade* is an ancient free Towne of the Empire, in the territorie of the Archbishop of *Breme*, who as protector of the Towne, hath a Tolle there, but no other command. It is situate from the riuer of *Elb* about two English miles, out of the which is a creek called the *Swinge*, which ebbeth and floweth vp to the Towne, and is able to carie a ship of fourescore or an hundred tunnes, and maketh a safe and quiet harbour for ships in all weathers. The Towne standeth vpon the maine land of Germanie, on the hither side of the Elb, a dayes iourney from *Bremen*, three dayes iourney from *Embden*, as many from *Cassell* in *Hessenland*, two dayes iourney from *Lunenburgh*, and from *Hambourgh* sixe houres: verie neere and conuenient for *Westfalia*, *Freesland*, and the parts thereabouts: in the winter season and alwayes, farre better & commodiouser then *Hambourgh*, for transporting, and sending of goods to and fro the abouesaid Townes and parts of Dutchland. In this Towne therefore lying so commodious and fit for trade, though old and vnfrequented, the Company at their owne great costs & charges, by their aboue said Cõmissioners, obtained Priuiledges, with the allowance and good liking of the Archbishop & Chapter of *Breme*: and there they found great & quicke vtterance of their cõmodities at good rates & prices, Merchants resorting

Situation of the towne of Stade.

Priuiledges obtained at Stade.

ting thither from all parts, for in the whole Towne of *Stade* was not one Merchant before the Companie of M.M. Aduenturers comming thither, but they liued generally all the inhabitants thereof vpon tillage, feeding of cattell, swine, and other husbandrie: the Towne also with the houses and buildings thereof, was almost vtterly decayed, and growne ruinous, but in the ten yeares that the Company resided in that Towne, there was a strange alteration, so that indeed it grew to be another Towne in regard of that it was before: & as the estate of *Stade* mended daily, so the Trade increased, till the publication of the Emperours Mandate in the yeare 1597. the end of which Mandate, a blind man may see to be none other then through the side of the M.M. Aduenturers to hurt and wound the state of England; that is, by the subuersion of that Companie, to stop the vent of English Cloth, by the which so manie thousands are fed and sustained in the land, and must want if the Trade faile, to repossesse the *Hanses* with their old antiquated, and obsolete Priuiledges, no way sufferable by the Prince or State, and to gratifie the Capitall enemies of this Realme. And therefore I could wish all the welwillers, and louers of the Common-wealth and state of England, and all the good subiects of her Maiestie, that through enuie, or misconceit they seeke not, or procure the decay or hinderance of the aboue said Company, least vnawares they ioyne hands with the common enemie, who seeketh not only the subuersion of the said Companie, but also of this whole Realme, from the which the Lord in mercie preserue vs.

By that which hath beene aboue set downe, I doubt not but it already in part appeareth, how true it is by late experience at home, that the Commoditie of the Realme can neither so well, nor in so great quantitie be vented by any other course, as by maintaining the Aduenturers in their trade and Priuiledges: for further proofe whereof, and that forreigne wares are by this meanes brought into the land at the more reasonable rates, let vs see what hath happened abroad, and consider the particular doings of some fellowes and brethren of the said Companie.

In

In the yeare 1584. and a few yeares before, ſome of the Companie had found out, and vſed a Trade to the Towne of *Norenberghe*, and other parts of Germanie, contrarie to the olde good orders of the Companie, eſpecially that which forbiddeth trade out of the Mart Townes, ordained for the keeping in credite, and better vent of Engliſh Commoditie, and bringing in of forreigne wares good cheape, & at reaſonable prices. So that where the Trade was before times in the Mart Townes betweene Engliſh and forreigne Merchants, it was now growne (eſpecially in the Towne of *Embden*) to be betweene Engliſh and Engliſh Merchants. Thoſe which vſed this trade, to excuſe their doings, alleaged, that they did tranſport and carie from the Mart Townes as great a quantitie of Clothes, Kerſies, and other woollen commodities, and at as good prices, as the Merchant ſtranger did, or would do, and that they brought to the Mart-Townes as much forreigne Ware, and that as good, and as good cheape, as the Straunger Merchantes could doe, and therefore, if the Merchants Aduenturers were not of an enuious diſpoſition, they could be content, that their owne Countrey-men and brethren ſhould rather gaine then ſtraungers. Hereunto it was anſwered: That although all this were true, and graunted (as it was not, for that much might be excepted thereagainſt) yet all men of ſound reaſon and vnderſtanding, might eaſily ſee and perceiue, that a Commoditie ſought for at the Mart Townes, is more eſteemed by the ſeeker thereof there, then if it were brought home, and offered him to ſell at his owne doores: and the Merchants prouerbe is (*That there is twentie in the hundred difference betweene, Will you buy? and will you ſell?*) And therefore, admit that theſe Traders to *Norenbergh* did tranſport frō the Mart townes as many Clothes, Kerſies, &c. as the ſtrange Merchants did, or would do, yet could not the ſaid Clothes, Kerſies, &c. beare ſuch price and eſtimation in *Norenbergh*, and other parts of Germany, being there offred to ſel by Engliſh, as they wold do, if they were to be ſold by ſtrāgers, or the naturals of the place, for the aboue writtē reaſon: the like might be ſaid, & vnderſtood of forreign

Norenbergh traders, and traders out of the Mart townes.

Wares, that the ſame would be bought as good cheap at the leaſt in the Mart Townes, as they are to be bought at the Strangers owne doores: beſides, it was found, that, as ſome ſorts of ſilke wares were in a greater quantitie then heretofore brought by the ſaid *Norenbergh* traders into England, ſo were the ſame wares much falſified, & empaired, in reſpect of their former goodnes and ſubſtance, ſince the beginning of the ſaid new & diſordered Trade & dealing: ouer and aboue all this, who knoweth not that the Merchants ſtraungers are either ignorant for the moſt part, or haue not ſo perfect aduiſe from time to time, as the Engliſh Traders had, how Engliſh & forreigne commodities riſe & fal in England? By reaſon whereof, there is more aduantage in ſelling to the ſaid ſtrangers, & in buying of them, then in dealing with the Engliſh *Norenberge* traders: for that they, or their friends are weekly in the Cloth-market at *London*, & ſo may, & no doubt do take knowledge, what price euery ſort & kind of Cloth, & Kerſie beareth: & then, being throughly acquainted with the Exchange, do calculate the reckening of the orderly Merchant Aduenturer, & ſhare him ſuch gaine as liketh them: and when they bring their forreigne Commodities to the Mart Townes, knowing before hand what is in requeſt in England, they either ſell the ſame at exceſſiue prices, or as they liſt themſelues, or ſhip thē into England: & often reſeruing the beſt wares to themſelues, do barter & ſell the refuſe in the Mart Townes: to conclude, they buy forreigne wares at *Norenberghe*, & elſewhere vpon credite, for the current anſwering whereof, (as is well to be prooued) they ſell their Engliſh Clothes and Kerſies at vile and baſe prices, ſo raiſing their gaines vpon forreigne wares, & caſting away the commodities of the Realme: and thus the ſtrange Merchants are put from their accuſtomed trade with the M.M. Aduenturers in the Mart-Towns for Engliſh commodity, & the M.M. Aduenturers fro buying of forreigne wares at the ſtrāgers hands, as much as lyeth in the ſaid Norembergh Traders. Laſtly, whereas it was ſayd by them that if the M.M. Aduenturers were not of an enuious diſpoſition, they would be content,

and

and wiſh that their Countreymen and brethren ſhould rather gaine then ſtrangers: The M. M. Aduenturers are here in wrongfully charged, for they can be very well content, to ſee their Countreymen, much more their brethren to thriue, and gaine, but whē as ſuch gaine (reaching alſo but to a few) is much more hurtfull to the Common weale of England, and to the generall bodie of the Company of M. M. Aduenturers, then beneficiall to the ſaid few perſons, traders to *Norenberghe*, and other places out of the Marte townes, there is no reaſon, but that it ought to be forbidden, and cut off: for ſuch priuate and vnwonted trade between Engliſh and Engliſh in the Marte townes, and ſuch ſtragling by free, and vnfree Engliſh vſed in Germanie, and the townes of the Lowe Countries out of the Marte townes, is ſo vnſeemely, vnmerchantlike, and farre differing from the ancient, laudable, and right Engliſh maner of the M M. Aduenturers our Predeceſſours in former times, & is ſo offenſiue to all forreigne States, and people, as nothing can be more: and hath been well ſeen and perceiued in the *Hamburghers*, & Earle *Edgard* of *Embden*, who were much diſpleaſed at the diſordered trade at *Norenberghe* and elſewhere: ſaying that they had giuen the Aduenturers leaue to trade with all kinde of forreigners in their cities, but had no meaning, that their cities ſhould bee vſed as through Faires, by trading from thence into other partes of the Empire, thereby to hinder the repaire of forreigne M. M. to the ſaid Cities: the ſaid Earle went further, & compelled ſuch Engliſhmen as traded to *Norenberghe*, to pay Tole, not only for ſuch clothes, kerſyes & Engliſh wares as they ſhould tranſport & carry from *Embden*, but alſo for ſuch forreigne wares as they brought from other partes vnto *Embden*, to the great preiudice of the State, & of the M. M. Aduenturers, who by Priuiledge were before free of all Tolles, & exactions whatſoeuer either inwards or outwards, & ſurely it may bee preſumed, that the *Hanſes* deriued that their falſe ſlaunder of the Companie of M. M. Aduenturers. in charging them with *Monopolie*, from none other head nor ground then from this diſordred trade vſed between a fewe vnbridled and priuate

English and English within the Marte-townes, and without the Marte-townes into the parts of Germanie, whereby they shew an exorbitant, and vnsatiable desire, and greedines of gaine, as not content with a reasonable trade in the Marte-towne, but in croching as it were, vpon the whole trade of those parts, and of other men which cannot choose, but be a great ey-sore, and offence to all forreigne, and strange Merchants. Now, although I hope by this time it sufficiently appeareth, that the gouerned and well-ordered trade of the M. M. Aduenturers Companie, is farre to be preferred before a dispersed, straggling, and promiscuous trade, so that it needeth no further proofe or demonstration, yet because some men hold this to be against the libertie of the subiect, & think that the Aduenturers by their orders, restraine or limite the Cloth market at home, it shal be necessarie for these mens satisfaction also, to say something further of this matter. First, it is true that *Bonum quo communius, eo maius*: and it were to be wished, that there were enough for euery man, but that will neuer be: furthermore, he looseth a piece of his libertie well, that being restrained of a little, fareth better in that estate, then if he were left to his owne greedy appetite: for we haue seene by experiẽce, that many men in our time leaping from their shops and retayling, wherein they were brought vp, and gathering great wealth, & taking vpon them to be M. M. and dealers beyond the seas, haue in fewe yeres growne poore, or so decayed in state that they might well haue wished, that they had neuer left their former trade, & vocation, but suffered others quietly to enioy their priuiledge, and disgested the losse of a litle scrap of liberty, hurtfull to themselues & rightly bestowed vpon others for such seruices, deserts, & considerations, as no other subiect need to enuy them for the same, or to be agreeued thereat, except they wil chalẽge the Prince of partiality, or not to haue a due care of the subiect, or say that the preferment or exemption, which one mã hath more, and before another in the Common wealth, is against the libertie of the subiect, & so bring in an ilfauoured confusion, or intolerable equality, by vsurping vpon other mens rights, & patri-

mony

mony ſo dearely obtained, and with their great and exceſſiue charges and trauel, maintained certaine hundred yeres together, as the Freedom which the Company of M. M. Aduenturers inioyeth, hath been. But (I pray you) let vs ſee what would follow, if theſe men had that which they ſo much deſire & contend for, ſurely nothing els then that which hitherto we haue ſeene to haue fallen out: neither can there any better end come thereof, then heretofore of the like. For example: The Engliſh had at the *Narue* in *Liefland*, a profitable trade, and good ſales for their Countrey commoditie a good while together, till at length in the yere 1565. a number of ſtragling Marchants reſorting thither out of this Realme, the trade was vtterly ſpoiled, inſomuch that many of them went about the towne with cloth vpon their armes, and meaſures in their hands, and ſold the ſame by the *Arſine*, a meaſure of that Countrey, to the great imbaſing of that excellent Commoditie, the diſcredite of our Nation, and the finall impouerriſhing, and vndoing of many of the ſaid ſtraglers, which being made knowne to her Maieſtie, and her Highnes right Honourable priuie Counſell, order was taken at the next Parliament, that the Towne of *Narue* ſhould be comprized within the Charter of the *Muſcouie* Company, to preuent the like pedlarlike kinde of dealing euer after, & the making vile of the principalleſt commodity of the realme. Which one example among other, may ſerue for verificatiō of that which heretofore hath bene ſaid againſt the ſtragling & ſingle Merchants trade in Woollen commodity, wherin further may be noted that which by experience is found true, that in the vngouerned ſingle trade, the firſt commer marreth the Market for him that commeth after, and at his returne maketh haſte (as his maner is) to preuent thoſe which follow, he ſetteth vp his wares at a high price, which afterwards are hardly pulled down to a lower rate: the which is otherwiſe in the gouerned trade of the M. M. Aduenturers: for comming together, and at one inſtant to market, or their Mart-Towne, where they are priuiledged with cōditions & exemptiōs to their owne liking & for the furtherance of the Commerce, ſufficient order

The pedlarlike dealing of the Engliſh ſtraglers at the Narue.

is

is taken for the preuenting one of another, & keeping in estimation of the commoditie of the land without vsing any such indirect dealing, for this purpose as the *Hanses* haue falsely imagined & as impudētly published, whereas the single & straggling trader, wanting all the aboue said helps & means, lyeth open to sundry wrongs, incōueniences, & grieuāces which to strangers are incident & cōmon in strange places, & thereby are made subiect to many exactions, new tolles, & excessiue payments & charges for one cause or other, & consequently as soone impouerished & driuen from their trade by the forreign Merchants, or after they haue made the forreign M.M. acquainted with the trade, or eaten out by them: which also would happen to the M.M. Aduenturers, if the M.M. Aduenturers if they were not so vnited, and held together by their good gouernmēt, & by their politike, & merchandike orders.

Here it may be obiected, that the more buyers there are, the quicker sales, & higher prices, and therefore of all others, as well of the M.M. Aduenturers might transport Cloth, the more would be sold, & the prices would be the higher: To this I haue sufficiently answered before & prooued the contrary by experience fetched from the twenty ninth yeere of her Maiesties reigne, when as all, both English and strangers, that would, were by letters Pattents directed from her Highnesse to the Lord Treasurers, enabled to buye and transport English cloth, & for that the Charter of the citie of *London* should not bee in the way, or an hindrance hereunto (by reason that vnfree men are thereby restrained from buying and selling within the said citie, and that the ordinarie Market-place at that time for Cloth was in Blackwell-hall) the signe of the *George* at *Westminster* in the Kings-street was appointed a market-place, for such Clothiers to resort vnto as would take the libertie of the aforesaid Letters patentes, but what followed thereof? I could neuer yet learne, that one Wayne load of Cloth was vnloaded at the saide place, neither that the Steelyard Merchants nor any of her Maiesties subiects so enabled as aforesaid, did euer take benefit by the same for fourtie clothes, one man yet liuing only excepted, who since (as I haue

heard) hath often proteſted, that in buying 200. Clothes, he loſt a good ſumme of his principall, and no maruaile, ſeeing thoſe who had ſerued and had beene brought vp in the trade of a Marchant Aduenturer many yeers together, could hardly make one of one, ſuch was the longſomenes of Returne, and the badnes of the time at that inſtant, through the Coniunction of many difficulties not here inſerted, beſides thoſe which haue beene aboue touched. So that not the want of buyers was the cauſe of the complaint of want of worke, and trade at that time, but rather the aboueſaid cauſes. For it is very well knowne, that the Company of M. M. Aduenturers is ſufficient and able enough, and ouer many to buy vp, and vent all that Cloth, and thoſe ſortes of woollen commoditie, made and endraped within the Realme, wherewith they vſually deale, and which are vendible in the Countries, whither they trade beyond the ſeas: for they are not ſo fewe as 3500. perſons in number enhabiting London, & ſundry Cities and partes of the realme, eſpecially the townes that lye conueniently for the ſea, of which a very great many vſe not the trade for that it ſufficeth for al, but are conſtrained to get their liuing by ſome other meanes: and to the the end that thoſe which are traders may be equally and indifferently cared and ſoried for, and that the wealthie or richer ſort with their great purſes may not engroſſe the whole Commoditie into their owne hands, and ſo ſome haue all, and ſome neuer a whit, there is a ſtint, and reaſonable proportion allotted, and ſet by an ancient order & manner, what quantitie either at once, or by the yere euery man may ſhip out or tranſport, which he is not to goe beyond nor exceed: which whole ſtint and proportion, if it were ſhipped, or tranſported out of the lande, would amount vnto yerely the double quãtitie of al the cloth of thoſe ſorts made in the Realme, which the Merchants Aduenturers deale in, wherby it is euident that this ſtinting is not a reſtraint or limitation of the Cloth marked (as ſome of late haue miſconceiued) but rather an œconomicall, and diſcreet partition, or approprotioning among the members, and Brethren of the Company, of the commodities, and benefits of the ſame:

3500. *Persons of the Company of M. M. Aduenturers.*

ſo that the wealthier ſort are not forgotte, but withal are kept from engroſſing the whole trade, contrarie to the vſe and maner of a well ordered Common wealth, or family, wherein all are prouided for, and not ſome ſtarued for want, whileſt others are ſwollen vp to the eyes with fat and plentie: *For it is merry in Hall, where beards wagge all,* according to that olde right Engliſh Prouerbe of our Anceſtours, who full well vnderſtood what belonged to good houſe keeping, and practiſed the ſame better then in theſe our dayes is vſed, the more the pittie.

That the Nauigation of the Realme, is maintained and aduanced by the Companie of the M.M. Aduenturers.

SINCE the erection of the Company of M.M. Aduenturers, and of other Companies trading *Ruſſia, Eaſtland, Spaine, Turkie, &c.* the Nauigation of the Realme is merueilouſly increaſed in number of good ſhipping, and of able, and skilfull maſters & Mariners, in ſo much that whereas within theſe 60. yeeres, there were not aboue foure ſhips, beſides thoſe of her Maieſties Nauie Royal, about the burthen of 120 Tunnes, within the Riuer of *Thames*, there are now at this day to be found pertaining to *London*, and other places lying vpon the ſaid Riuer a great number of very large and ſeruiceable Marchants ſhips, fit as well for the defence of the Realme (if need were) as for trafficke, whereof a god part are ſet on worke by the ſaid Companie of M.M. Aduenturers: the reaſon whereof is, that this, and other Companies tranſporting at once or at one inſtant, a great quantitie of goods and wares, and being to make returne of the ſame in forreign commodities, do go infleets, or with great & warlike veſſels well furniſhed, & this maner of going in fleet to the Marte-Towne tendeth to the ſafety and

the

preſeruation of the ſhipping, and goods of the ſubiects of the Realme, which amount to a great valew, and would help the enemie, and hurt our State very much, if it ſhould come into his handes, being thereby able to defend themſelues from ſpoyle and violence, ſo that ſince the troubles beganne with Spaine, not one ſhip ſet out by the Companie of M.M. Aduenturers hath beene taken by the enemie, whereas the ſingle Merchant going where, and when he liſteth, and not able to ſet a good ſhip on worke, caſteth howe to come of good cheape, and either ſhippeth in ſtrangers, or prouideth himſelfe of ſmall veſſels and Pinkes, to ſerue his turne for ſmall quantities of wares, and fit to flie, or run away if hee ſhould chance to meet with the enemie, and yet hee is many times ſnapped vp and made a praye to Dunkerkers, and other Sea-rouers, both to his owne, and the publike hurt, as we haue often times knowne of late yeres, wherby it appeareth that the Nauigation of the Realme is maineimaned, aduanced, and encreaſed by the vpholding of the Company of M. M. Aduenturers, and of the later Companies alſo.

That the Queenes Cuſtomes and Incomes, are augmented by maintaining the Companie of M.M. Aduenturers.

THe like reaſons for the increaſing of her Maieſties Cuſtomes, and Incomes, as is for the Nauigation: for if the good and ſeruiceable ſhipping of this Realme bee mainetained, bettered and increaſed by the great Trade and Trafficke of the ſayde Companie, and if that greater quantities of Cloth are tranſported and vttered by them in forreigne partes, then if all were free and ſet at large, as hath beene aboue plainely and throughly proued, it followeth neceſſarily that their ſaid vnited trade is more aduantageable, and yeeldeth more ample and certaine profite, and encreaſe to her Highneſſe Cuſtomes, then a ſingle, ſtragling, or looſe trade by any meanes

can doe: The Cuſtome alſo which the ſaid Company payeth, commeth in yerely, & at certaine times in round ſummes and payments, wherby the turne of the Prince, and State is the better ſerued vpon any occaſion of need of money: whereas the payments of the ſingle Merchants come in by driblets, and ſmall parcels: and hereunto the good orders of the ſayd Companie, are no ſmall helpe, eſpecially in tranſportation, or ſhipping outwardes, for that the moſt part of the Commodities, which the Marchants Aduenturers cany out of the Realme, being ſhipped in appointed ſhippes at *London*, the ſaid Company haue their certaine ouerſeers, by whoſe order, and appointment they ſhip that which they ſhip, and when the goods ariue on the other ſide of the Seas, there are alſo officers who attend, and take view of the Packs, Fardels, and other parcels of Commoditie landed, preſenting, and enforming of ſuch, which they finde to haue ſhipped in other maner then was appointed them to ſhip, or not to haue entred and payd their Cuſtome and dueties rightly to her Maieſtie, who are ſubiect to great penalties, and forfeitures for the ſame: this courſe deuiſed for the better collection of an Impoſition leuied by the Company vpon Cloth and other things for the maintenance, and vpholding of the ſaid Company, doeth not onely the better make knowen vnto them, but alſo vnto her Highneſſe Officers of the Cuſtome-houſe, what euery man ſhippeth away, ſo that by this meanes the Cuſtome is the truelier, and fuller payed, whereas the ſtragler ſhipping his Cloth and other Commoditie in couert maner, hugger-mugger, and at obſcure Portes, haue more aduantage, and meanes to defraude her Maieſtie of her dueties and rightes, then thoſe which ſhip at *London*, and other great Port Townes, either by falſe entryes, colouring of Straungers goods, and corrupting the Cuſtomers, and other Officers, who, for the moſt part being needie perſons in thoſe ſmall, and remote Portes of the Realme, are more readie to take rewardes, and cloſelier may doe it, then the Officers of the Cuſtomes at the Port of *London*: to ſay nothing of the great quantity of forreign wares brought into the realme

by

by the Merchants Aduenturers, the Custome whereof is better, and trulier paid, then if the stragler, or stranger had the importation or paiment thereof, or of the like quantitie, and if the Records were searched, no doubt, but it would so bee found. For it was not without some cause, that heretofore we haue seene so great fraternitie, familiaritie, kindnesse, and inwarde friendship betweene the Officers for her Maiesties Customes, and strangers, and that the said Officers aboue all others, now wish them againe so heartily, and call so loud for them, as though now the State were dangerously diuided, & vnkindly at iarre with her ancient allies, and best forreigne friends, and therefore time to prouide against a desolation, which the land is ready to fall into (for want of these deare Allies, and kind friends forsooth) whileſt no man is found, that layeth it to heart, and bringeth them in again. Surely this is well preached for stockfish and Rhenish wine, &c. The Alderman of the Steelyard, & *Emanuel van Meteren* haue great cause to giue them thanks, but not her Maiestie, or the State: the reasons I haue sufficiently laid open, and shewed in this Discourse, whereunto I referre the indifferent and discreete Reader. As for those Strangers, who haue termed the Companie of Merchants Aduenturers, *A Priuate, Particular, and Preuenting Company*, or haue written, or forespoken in that sort of the saide Company, if it be so, as these Customers say, they haue thereby well shewed their skill in P.P. & that they are not onely strangers to our state and common wealth, but withall priuie vnderminers, and maligners of the good thereof: and let these Customers, while they warne other men, be wise, and warned themselues also, least by their too too much leaning vnto, and fauouring of such straungers, they proue not in the end bad Customers to her Maiestie, and consequently, corrupt and vnnaturall members of their Countrie and State: & withall let them vnderstand and be well assured that the Merchants Aduenturers both know, and regard the essentiall parts, grounds and pillers of Traffike, & of old time haue put them in practise, and yet at this day do quietlier, better, and certainlier obserue & maintaine them, then the Customers

Customers of the out Ports backebite the M. M. Aduenturers.

ſtomers of the out-ports (I feare me) do their office: Laſtly, where they ſay, that the M.M. Aduenturers by a bare and idle pretence of the word *Order*, and orderly tranſporting of the Credite and Creame of the Land (*Cloth*) haue brought the trade thereof to a kinde of confuſion, and themſelues into ſuch a Labyrinth, that beſides the diſtreſſe of the Clothiers, with all their dependents, and generall complaints at home (to their honorable Lordſhips endleſſe offence, and trouble at the Councell table) the Commoditie it ſelfe is empaired, abaſed, and in a ſort deſpiſed, &c. Surely, either their intelligence hath deceiued them, or they ſhew themſelues to bee caried with a malicious ſpirit: for who knoweth not, that the Trade of the Merchants Aduenturers is not in a bare or idle pretence & ſhew, but in very deed the moſt orderly and beſt framed Trade that may be? True it is, that ſome ſtrangers and others (poſſibly of theſe Cuſtomers familiars & friends) haue by open, and couert means at home and abroad endeuoured and done their beſt to bring the ſaid Trade to ſome notable confuſion, and thoſe of the Companie into a labyrinth, to the empairing and embaſing indeed of the Commoditie of the land: but, thanks be to God, and our alwayes gracious Ladie Queene, they haue not yet had their wils, neither ſhall they (I hope) though theſe od Cuſtomers tooke part with thē neuer ſo much: and therefore they may well hold their clacke, and be content, like ſubiects, with that, which thoſe in higheſt authoritie haue ſo long found good, & decreed, ſhall be ſo in their wiſedomes, and not take vpon them like controllers, to checke the doings, which either of ignorance they vnderſtand not the ground, and reaſon of, or through malice or vnnaturall affection towards ſtrangers more, then their owne Country-men, doe miſconceiue, and miſreport of: but beeauſe I haue often made mention of the *Hanſes* in this Diſcourſe, it ſhall not by the way be amiſſe, to ſhew what theſe *Hanſes* are, and what hath paſſed betweene this State & them in mans memorie.

The *Hanſes* or Eaſterlings, as they are commonly called, are people of certaine free townes in Dutchland, either lying

vpon

vpon the sea, or some naugable riuers: and were in old time two and seuentie in number, as they say: whereof *Lubecke* of the Wendish, *Brunswick* of the Saxon, *Dantzick* of the Prusse and *Cullen* since it was of late yeeres receiued into this confederacie of the Westfalish Townes (for into these foure parts or names they are diuided) were, and are the chiefest. These Townes, by reason of their situation, and to put a distinction betweene them and other free Townes of the Empire, were in old time called in Dutch *Aen zee steden*, or Townes on the sea-side, or for breuities sake *Anseschе*, or *Hanseschе steden*, and in our language *Hanse stedes*, or *Hanse townes*. These Townes hauing vnited themselues for the sea-trade and commerce, were full of good and great shipping, and had an exceeding great trade and traffike in all the East countrie wares & commodities, to wit, Corne, Stockefish, Waxe, Hempe, Steele, Masts, Firre-poles, Dele-boords, pitch, Tarre, Sopeashes, &c. seruing diuers lands & places therwithal, & with their shipping in time of need, by means whereof they got vnto themselues large Priuiledges and immunities, to their great benefite, aduantage, and enriching, and in our time they had their houses or places of residence in this realme at *London*, in Norway at *Bergben*, in Russia at *Nouogrode*, and in the lowe Countries at *Antwerpe*, whither they remoued from *Bridges*: each of these Houses had their Chiefe or Alderman, and Assistants, with a Secretarie, Treasurer, Steward, and other necessarie officers, but all of them held correspondence with the Town of *Lubeck*, as head of all the *Hanse* Townes. These Aldermen and Assistants had power to exercise Merchants law among themselues in their house at *London*, called the *Steelyard*, so named, by reason of the Steele, which they in great quantitie brought thither to sell, and is a verie large and spacious house, lying vpon the Thamis side, for that they were enioyned to dwell all in one house. Among other their Priuiledges in England, one was, That they might carie out, and bring in their Wares and Merchandise for an old Custome of one and a quarter vpon the hundred, & thereby were exempt from all personall or reall charge or contribution, which all other

Original of the Hanses and their doings in England.

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Merchants are ſubiect vnto, ſaue that in time of neede, they were enioyned to repaire, and helpe to keep one of the gates of *London*, called *Biſhops gate*. Now in King *Edward* the thirds time, Wooll was the beſt Merchandiſe of this land, and the cuſtome thereof the chiefeſt income which the Prince receiued, as amounting yearely to the ſumme of 65. or 70. thouſand pounds: which was much in thoſe dayes. And we reade that in the yeare 1355. there was granted by a Parliament to king *Edward* the third, Fiftie ſhillings vpon each ſack of wooll to be caried out of the Realme in ſixe yeares, ſo that the ſaid King might diſpend euerie day one hundred Markes, which in ſixe yeares time, amounted to fifteen hundred thouſand pounds, reckoning for an hundred thouſand ſackes of Wooll a yeere tranſported, fiftie ſhillings vpon each ſacke: This woolle was for the moſt part vented in the low Countries, and there wrought and endraped into Cloth: but in proceſſe of time the Drapery and Art of making of Cloth was brought into this realme, and the *Hanſes*, who before time bought all their Cloth in the low Countries, and ſo caried them vpwards, did now buy much Cloth in England, and tranſported the ſame continually vpon the old ſmall Cuſtom, which at the firſt was ſet ſo low, for the furtherance of the new begun Draperie, and Arte of making of Cloth, but at length it being growne verie great, and the Wooll trade almoſt wholy decayed, it was found that the Prince and ſtate loſt exceedingly, by the paſſing out of Cloth vpon the ſayd ſmall Cuſtome, and therefore in Queene *Maries* dayes, after her mariage with King *Philip*, in the yeare 1557. and by his meanes the Cuſtome of Cloth, Kerſie, and other Woollen Commoditie, beſides forreigne wares, was raiſed from 14. pence to ſix ſhillings 8. pence the Cloth, to be payed by Engliſhmen, and 13. ſhillings & foure pence by ſtrangers, tranſporting the ſame; by means wherof the cuſtome of cloth endraped within the land, was brought to bee equall with the cuſtome of Wooll, when it was moſt, & when the ſaid wooll was caried out vnwrought, and was draped in the low Countries. Againſt this the *Hanſes* oppoſed themſelues, pretending

their

their priuiledges ſo long agoe graunted, and by many Kings confirmed vnto them, as they ſaid, but for that in the yeare 1550. vnder King *Edward* the ſixth, vpon due examination of their pretended Priuiledges, there were many defects and faults found therein, and for that the *Hanſes* for diuers abuſes, and falſhoods in colouring, and freeing of forreigne goods, or ſuch, which ought not to enioy the libertie of the *Hanſes*, being none of their vnion or confederacie, and for other cauſes, had beene by a Decree of the Councell adiudged to be fallen from their ſaid Priuiledges, part whereof were preſently reſumed & called in, eſpecially that which concerned the carying out of Woollen Cloth: they obtained no remedy all that Kings dayes, but ſince they haue beene offered great fauour, as by that which followeth ſhall appeare. But not content herewithall, they made their often cõplaints to the Emperours Maieſty, of the wrong done them, in ſeazing of their Priuiledges in England. Firſt, in the yeare 1564. at which time the Engliſh Cloth was baniſhed out of the Low Countries by the Dutcheſſe of *Parma*, for the cauſes heretofore expreſſed in this Treatiſe, & that the M. M. Aduenturers helde their Marts at *Embden*: and afterwards in the yeare 1582. at an Aſſembly of the Empire at *Ausburge*, charging the ſaid Merchants Aduenturers, that they had taken away the ſaid *Hanſes* priuiledges in England, to the end, that they might haue the whole Cloth trade in their owne hands, and ſo by their Monopoliſh dealings make Cloth deare in the Empire: ſetting alſo price before hand of that which they ſell, and of that which they will buy, and ſo committing open Monopoly. Whereupon the Emperour wrote vnto the Earle of *Embden*, commaunding him to baniſh the M. M. Aduenturers out of his Countrie, as Monopoliſh perſons, and hurtfull to the Empire. The Earle diſcreetly conſidering that her Maieſtie might, and could eaſily anſwer the ſlanderous complaints of the *Hanſes*, charging her Highneſſe with wrong done vnto them, as ſhe did, by her letters ſent to the Emperour in Aprill 1581. by M. *George Gilpin*, at that time Secretarie to the Company: & that the ſaid M. M. Aduenturers were now in his town

Some of the Hanſes calumniation againſt the M. M. Aduenturers

of *Embden* no more to be accounted Monopolians, then they were heretofore in *Antwerp*, and of late at *Hamburgh*, during their residence there ten yeeres together, & vpwards, did not only not put the said Decree or Commandement of the Emperour in execution, but tooke vpon him by his Orator at *Spieres*, to defend the Trade of the M. M. Aduenturers in the Empire, and to iustifie the entertainment of thē into his countrie, wherein Doctor *William Muller*, at that time Chancellor to the said Earle, and since *Sindicus* of *Hamburgh*, was a chiefe Counsellor or actor: so that the Emperour, for that time, was well satisfied with the Earles doings and answer: and the said M. M. Aductures continued their trade at *Embden*, til that by the D. of *Parmaes* too neere and bad neighbourhood, and other vrgent causes, they were forced of necessitie, & for the better vent of the commodity of the Realme, to seeke for a new place, and finally, to agree with the *Staders*, as is aboue at large rehearsed: howbeit the *Hanses* here ceased not, but persisted in their former pursuits & Complaints, till the yeare 1597. at which time the said *Hanses* were much endammaged at sea by Englishmen of warre, who by vertue of a Proclamation set forth by her Maiestie, tooke many ships of the Easterlings going into Spaine with corn, ammunition, & furniture for shipping, all which was made good bootie & prize; which doing caused the *Hanses* to haue the better audience in their complaints, the yeare before by *Don Francesco de Mendoza*, Admiral of Arragon, in the name of the K. of Spain: and the Archduke *Albert* highly recommended to the Emperour, & earnestly sollicited vnder pretext of withstanding, and chastising of Pirates and sea-robbers: to the forwarding of this businesse holpe not a little, that in May and Iune 1597. *Florence* Earle of *Barlamont*, Doctor *George Westendorpe*, and *Iohn van Nickercken*, Counsellors, were sent vnto the King of *Denmarke*, & to the *Hanse* Towns, & namely to the Town of *Lubecke*, on the behalf of the King of Spaine, & the Archduke *Albert*. These Embassadours comming to the said Towne of *Lubecke*, did in writing declare the ancient friendship between the house of *Burgundie*, and the *Hanse* Townes, & how much the

the said king had aduanced & recommẽded their cause vnto the Emperour, touching their Priuiledges in England, by the means of his Embassadour *Don Guillame de S. Clement*, resident at *Prague*: They also complained, that the *Hanse* townes vsed so ample trade with the kings rebels (as they termed thẽ) the low Countries, by means whereof the Queene of Englãd was the more emboldened, & strengthened against the said King, wherefore they required, that the *Hanse* townes would for a time forbeare all trade whatsoeuer with the said rebels, that therby they might the sooner be reduced vnder their K. obediẽce: but if they feared to do this, by reason of the league betweene England, France, & the States of the vnited Prouinces, then they required, that they would also deale & traffique with the kings true and loyall subiects in the Hauens of *Callice, Graueling, Dunkercke, Nieuport Sluyse, & Antwerp*, as well as they did with the Hollanders, otherwise their trade might be well accounted for Partialitie, rather then Neutralitie; promising further, that the said *Hanses* should discharge their goods, buy, sell, and make returne in the forsaid Hauens, without any paiment at all of Toll Impost, License, or other charge whatsoeuer; and further, should be assured, and warranted by the Archduke *Albert*, from all dammage or losse. These Embassadors also seemed to be much grieued for the iniurie, which they said the Queene of England did vnto the *Hanses*, in taking from them their so ancient Priuiledges, for the recouerie whereof they offered all possible assistance, and to receiue them vnder the Kings protection: moreouer, to furnish them with ships, munition, money, and souldiors at all times, as need should require: offering them besides free trade and traffike in Spaine & Portingall, so that they separated & distinguished their ships frõ those of the kings rebellious subiects by some marke or token, as they should think best. Lastly they shewed, that the King had giuen order to the Archduke *Albert*, to send a notable Embassage to the Emperour to procure the setting forth of the Mandat or Decree agreed vpõ at *Ausburgh* 1582. against the Monopolish English trade (as they pleased to cal it) thereby to effect the restitutiõ of the

Hanses Priuiledges, & that his disobedient subiects, the Queen of England, & the King of Nauarre, as disturbers of the peace of Christendome, and stirrers vp of the Turke, might once be suppressed, destroied, & rewarded according to their deserts. And albeit since the troubles of the low Countries, the *Hanses* haue beene shewed but small fauour, the said Embassadors requested notwithstanding that they would helpe to further the Embassage, which the King of Denmarke had promised to send vnto the Queen of England, king of Nauarre, and the rebellious States, and to compell them to right and reason, which the King of Spaine & the Archduke should at all times acknowledge for a singular pleasure. About this time also the Kings of Denmarke, and Polone, the Emperour, & the Princes of the Empire sent their Embassadours into England, and vnto the States of the vnited low Countries, all which was procured and brought to passe by the King of Spaine and his Ministers, to none other end, but to make the English as Pirates and robbers at sea, and the Netherlanders, as rebels against their Prince, hated & odious vnto all the world, taking vpon them also the cause of the said *Hanses* lost Priuiledges, which they pretend to haue in England, as by intercepted letters was sufficiently made knowne and manifested to the Queens Maiesty & the states of the vnited low Countries.

The King of Polones Embassador *Paul d'Ialine*, had audience of her Maiestie the 4th of August 1597. who in strange and vnlooked for maner & termes, declared vnto her Highnesse, that the subiects of the King his Maister *Sigismond* the third, were not only not gratified with anie new benefite, or fauor at her Maties hands, but to the cõtrarie were depriued of commodities & freedomes which her predecessours had giuen and confirmed vnto them, and consequently were debarred of all trade and traffique in her kingdome. That likewise her Maiestie had set forth certaine Edicts or Proclamations, by the which, contrarie to the law of Nations, the Nauigations, and trade into Spaine was forbidden, and vnder colour thereof diuerse ships of the subiects of the said King had beene taken at sea, and the goods therein made prize,

and

and confiſcate, whereof he required reparation, & reſtitution, and that the trade Weſtward might remain free and open to thoſe of *Polone*, otherwiſe his maſter the King ſhould be forced to vſe ſuch meanes as thereby neighbourly freedom and reſtitution might be obteined. This was in briefe the effect of the ſaide Embaſſadours ſpeech, which with a very loude voice he deliuered in the Latine tongue: Wherevnto it pleaſed her Maieſtie to make him a ſhort anſwere, and quicke for that time, referring him for further anſwere to certaine of her Highneſſe Honourable priuie Counſell, to wit, the Lorde *Burghley*, late high Treaſurer deceaſed, the Lord high Admiral, Sir *Iohn Forteſcue*, and Sir *Robert Cecill* Secretarie: to whom after the ſaid Poliſh Embaſſadour had deliuered his ſpeech, which hee made before the Queene in writing, and excuſed his rough kinde of ſpeaking, ſhewing that by his Commiſſion ſigned, and ſealed by the King in the aſſembly of the States of *Polone* he was thereunto enioyned, he receiued the anſwere following in the name of her Maieſtie, which properly pertaining to the matter of the *Hanſes*, and anſwering fully, and very pertinently the queſtion made by them about their old priuiledges, I haue thought meete to inſert in this place.

Anſwere made on her Maieſties behalfe vnto the Embaſſage.

THE ſaid Honourable Perſonages therefore told him, that her Maieſtie, vnderſtanding of his comming into *England*, was right glad thereof, as ſent from the king her brother, for whom not long ſince ſhe had by her Interceſſion obtained, Firſt a Truce, and afterwardes a peace of the great Turke, when the ſaid King and his State was oppreſſed with ſore warre, which peace he yet inioyeth to the great good, and benefite of his Kingdome, and therefore now expected, not onely a remembrance of the ſaid good turne, but alſo due thanks for the ſame, for that neuer ſince ſhe had receiued any from him: her Highneſſe had giuen him gracious audience, and read the King his maſters Letters willingly, wherin ſhee ſawe nothing but that which ought to proceed *A Rege fratre, ad Reginam ſororem Chariſſimam*, but ſay they, you

ing as it ſhould ſeeme the perſon of an Ambaſſadour, began a long ſpeach, and turned the ſame almoſt into a ſermone, the which notwithſtanding her Maieſty heard with patience, ſignifying vnto you onely in a fewe wordes, beſeeming the Maieſtie of a Prince, howe vnworthily you in your Oration had laid the fault of many things vpon her Highnes, and with how great equitie in deede ſhe hoped that her actions would be well liked of all men, and ſo diſmiſſed you to receiue further anſwere according to your negotiation of vs her Counſellours, who are beſt witneſſes of all her doings almoſt theſe fourtie yeere, as well with the kings her friends, as with her enemies, although wee know no Prince in Chriſtendom for enemie, but the king of Spaine onely, whoſe cauſe you very ſeriouſly handled in your ſpeach. Firſt therefore we required to ſee your Oration in writing, to the end, that we might giue ſuch anſwere thereunto, as were conuenient, and for that you haue ſhewed vnto vs your commiſſion ſealed and ſigned by the king of *Polone* (as appeared vnto vs) in the aſſembly of that kingdom, whereby we haue plainely perceiued, that you haue vttered nothing in your Oration, which you had not order to declare, therefore we can in no wiſe blame you for any thing by you ſaid, although her Maieſtie looked not for any ſuch matter. Concerning the points of your complaintes, we obſerue them to be theſe: Firſt you ſay, that your king perceiueth that his ſubiects haue not onely not receiued any newe benefite from her Maieſtie, but are partly depriued of thoſe, proceeded frō her Highnes progenitors, and were confirmed vnto them, and partly are in a maner excluded from all Nauigation, or trade in this Realme: The ſecond point, conteineth a grieuous complaint of your kings ſubiects againſt the Proclamations ſent vnto them, by the which all trafficke into Spaine is forbidden them, and conſequently that their ſhips haue bene in hoſtile maner taken by the QVEENES men of warre, and the goods therein made prize and confiſcated, and finally you required in the Kings name reſtitution of the ſaid goods, or reparation of the damages & iniuries (as they terme them) receiued, as that they be not hereafter hindred in the afore-

foreſaid traſſicke, which by the common law ought to be free to all men, otherwiſe ſuch meaneanes of neceſſitie muſt bee vſed, where by they may get ſatisfaction by the aid and helpe of the ſaid king: theſe beeing the chiefe heades, or pointes of your Ambaſſage, and of that which your king requireth, her Maieſtie hath thought good to anſwere thereunto ſincerely, and according to the trueth of the matter in this maner: Firſt, that your king is not rightly enformed concerning the firſt point, in that it is ſaid that his ſubiects are partly depriued of their Priuiledges, and partly ſhut out from all Trade almoſt in this Realme: for where there is mention made of his ſubiects, as ſubiects of the king of *Polone*, this doubt may ariſe, what kinde of people the ſubiects are, becauſe they muſt be vnderſtood either to bee ſubiects of the Dukedome of *Pruſsia*, or elſe to bee compriſed vnder the name of the *Hanſes*, who haue no certaine ſeate or place whence they are: For other then the ſubiectes of the Dukedome of *Pruſsia*, and the *Hanſes*, as Merchantes of Germanie reſiding at *London*, the QVEENES MAIESTIE neuer vnderſtood, that there were any that pretended any Priuiledge of Commerce aboue or before other Marchantes of all EVROPE: And whereas they complaine as Subiectes of the King of *Polone*, that they are depriued of their Priuiledges, and almoſt excluded from all Trade in this Kingdome: Firſt, concerning the right of their Priuiledges, queſtion was made almoſt 50. yeres agoe in the time of King EDVVARD the ſixth of the validitie of their former Priuiledges, and then the ſayde Priuiledges were rightly iudgged voyde, and forfeited for the manifeſt breach of the Conditions thereof, and ſince the ſayde *Hanſes* could neuer prooue, that they had iniurie done them in the ſayde reuocation: notwithſtanding all this they had granted vnto them in their Trade into this Realme, and in the payement of their Cuſtomes more libertie, then any Marchantes of whatſoeuer Nations through all EVROPE, yea by eſpeciall grace, and fauour they were made equall, and had as much freedome giuen in their Trade, and in the payement of the

Cuſtomes

Customes of their Merchandises, as the naturall borne Subiects of this Realme, according to the true meaning and intent of their priuiledges from the beginning: and if they haue not accepted of this, which by great fauour was offered vnto them, and so haue forborne their Trade in this Realme, the fault is in themselues, neither can it be rightly saide, that they are excluded (as it should seeme by the Kings writing that he is informed) but rather admitted and retained with the same fauour, as the very meere subiects and naturals of the Crown of Englande are, then the which what can bee greater? Vnlesse, contrary to all humane Lawe, the Queene should haue more care of them, then of her proper subiects and how absurd, yea how detestable this shold be, wil be made manifest, if it be cõsidered what the office of a good prince is in the rule, & administration of all his kingdome: for if in regard of his kingly office a King bee compared to the husband of an house, or to the Pastor of the people, or (as he is said to bee in the diuine Scriptures) to a foster father of the people committed vnto him, who except he were starke mad, would call that Prince a good father or husband of the house, which should haue more care of an other mans familie then of his own? Or a good Pastor or shephard, which neglecting his owne flock should looke better to another mans then his owne, or worthy of the name of a Nursing or fotter King, which should neglect his owne children, and nourish other mens children with his milke? And so these things may be well applyed to the present cause and question in hand: for if the *Hanses* should haue better conditions, then the proper subiects of the kingdome, it would plainely follow that the Prince of this realme shold do his natural subiects very great iniurie, cõtrary to the law of nature & mans law, for by this means his subiects shold become poore, or rather destitute of all honest and profitable trafficke and Nauigation, and the *Hanses* should growe opulent, and possesse the whole trade of the realme, as Monopolists of the whole kingdom. And by these reasons, well waighed, it manifestly appeareth, that those whom the king calleth his subiectes doe most falsely complaine that they are excluded

ded from lawfull trade in this land, when as freely they may trade, and with the same conditions as her Maiesties meere English Subiectes may doe, and with far better then all other Merchants, In somuch as that they are preferred before all the neighbour people of this Realme, *French*, *Scots*, *Flemings*, *Hollanders*, and the rest of the Low Countrey Merchants, and before all the people of Dutchland, the said *Hanses* onely excepted. Wherefore her Maiestie is perswaded, that when the king of *Polone* shall vnderstand these reasons, he will change his opinion, the like she expecteth at the hands of the Senatours of that Kingdome, if these things bee aright imparted vnto them: For the complaints of the *Hanses* are so vniust, and vnreasonable, that it may be doubted, whether the accustomed forme of iudgement in matters of doubt were obserued by the aboue saide Assembly in this cause, or that credite was giuen to the complainants the matter but slightly examined, or that place was giuen to their importunate prayers and requests: For her Maiesty hath that opinion of the supreme authority, and dexteritie of the Senatours of *Polone* in their proceedings, in the Assemblies of the saide Kingdome (which commeth not to the King by inheritance, but by election, and consent of the said Senatours) that it seemeth absurd and not likely to bee true, that they in their publike Assembly would decree any thing against the maiestie of such a Queene, whose like Christendom hath not had in this age, nor any other happier in noble acts, or in length of reign, or superioritie in princely vertues, and yet that the same her Maiesty should be vniustly accused, and without being heard, blamed, is a thing not to be taken in good part: for this amõg priuate men, was alwayes accounted vnreasonable, much more beeing done against a Queene of so great Maiestie, which hath so well deserued of the King and his Kingdome. For it is apparent, that certaine yeeres past, the warre which the Turke had prepared against the said king and Kingdome by her Highnesse intercession ceased, and peace was granted to the king and his Realme, by the benefite whereof they to this day enioy quietnesse, and peace in that Kingdome: The

like good turne the Queene did in the yeere 1553. to the Kings Father *Iohn* king of *Sweden*, when as hee as well by his Embassadours the Lord *Enick* of *Wisenbroughe* his Cousin, *Andrew Kithe* Counsellour and *Raschias* his Secretarie, as also by letters sent vnto her Maiestie, earnestly entreated her Highnesse, to send an Embassage into *Muscouie*, to make intercession for a peace betweene the said king, and the *Muscouite*, which she without delay willingly performed, and by her persuasion drew the *Muscouite* to make peace with the said K. vpon indifferent, & reasonable conditions: Which two excellent benefites done by her Maiestie, the one to the Father, the other to the sonne, and to their kingdomes are therfore rehearsed, because that in remembrance thereof, a better and more courteous course of proceeding might iustly haue been expected from the king, and from the Senatours of his kingdome, then by your Oration (it appeareth) was by them determined: Insomuch, that if at the beginning of your instructions, it had not been set downe, that your Commission was decreed vpon in the Assembly of the Realme, it might haue been suspected, that some pointes of your said Commission, not to be liked, were composed by some Spaniards, and slanderous Iesuites, of which Iesuites it is said ther is a great number spread through manie partes of the Kingdome of *Polone*, whose malicious raylings, are often cast out in publike places against her Maiestie, and this Kingdome without condigne punishment, or any reprehension at all: and therefore it may be the more likely to be true, that they as sworne men to the king of Spaine, together with the Spaniardes of late entertained by the King, and heard in the publike Assembly, of the Realme, haue procured this Embassage with these kinde of Commissions in fauour of the King of Spaine.

The second point of your Embassage conteyneth a request for free Nauigation or trade into Spaine, which we deeme to be such, as the king of Spaine himselfe hath lately in serious maner recommended for himselfe: for this prohibition was not set forth by the Queenes Maiestie before she was of nece ssitie

ceſſitie compelled thereunto: leaſt the King of Spaine, open enemie to this Realme, ſhould bee furniſhed with Armes, ſhips, and Ammunition with ſuch facilitie, and in ſuch great abundance, as he was from the Maritime parts of Germanie, by meanes whereof he might maintaine long warre againſt this realme, ſo that if he could not get theſe aides, and helpes, it is manifeſt that hee ſhould bee forced to leaue off warre and offer peace not only to this Realme, but alſo to others, againſt whō he muſt vniuſtly maketh war, wheras therefore it is plaine, that this K. of Spaine, being an enemy to this realm, is furniſhed, armed, and ſtrengthened to continue this vniuſt warre with ſhips, victuall, and other warlike prouiſions out of certain cities vnder *Polme* & other maritime cities of Germany in what ſort can her Maieſty (being oppreſſed by the Spaniard with vniuſt war) tolerate or ſuffer that ſuch orders and helpes ſo openly & ſo copiouſly ſhould be carried to the ſaid K. her enemie for the continuance of warre againſt her? And although you many times repeate it, that the ſaid her Highnes prohibitions were contrary to the law of nations, it is ſtrange, that you would alleade this againſt the law of Nature, when as by nature it ſelfe, it is ordeined, that euery man may defend himſelfe againſt force, which law not written, but borne with vs wee haue not learned but receiued, and drawen from Nature it ſelfe, beſides it is prouided by the ancient lawes to forbid, yea to let, and hinder, that no man minister Armes, victuall, or any thing elſe, whereby the enemie may bee holpen to make warre, as by this one, wherewith many other agree. you may perceiue: *Cotem ferro ſubigendo neceſſariam, Hoſtibus quoque venundari vt ferrum & frumentum & Sales non ſine periculo capitis licet*: Neither may it here bee omitted, that this prohibition is plainely contained in diuers Articles of the Charters, giuen to the *Hanſes* by the Kings of Englande, and firſt in the Charter of King *Edward* the firſt King of Englande, in theſe wordes following: *Licebet prædictis Mercatoribus quo voluerint tam infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram, quam extra Mercantias ſuas auere, ſeu portari facere, praterquam ad terras manifeſtorū, & notoriorum Hoſtiū* H. lib. 39 tit 4. de Publicanis.

Regni nostri: the very same clause, and promise is in expresse words conteyned in the Charters of *Edward* the second, and *Hernie* the sixth, kings of England, which exceptions so often times repeated by so many Kings, ought to admit no reason to the contrarie, especially on those mens behalfe who challenge their right by vertue of the said Charters onely: but we should haue had no neede to propounde these our reasons vnto you, but that wee supposed you were ignorant how this question of prohibiting ayd to be giuen to the king of Spaine for making warre against vs, was handled about two yeeres agoe before your King in his Counsaile, when as certaine Merchants or Marriners of *Danzicke*, complained of the like prohibition, and had obtained an Edict against her Maiesties people, which Edict beeing oppugned with many reasons by our Ambassadour Doctor *Parkins* heere present, was abrogated and made void, so that there followed no execution vpon the same, but the *Danzickers* were dismissed: which happened in the yeere 1595. so that to treat further of this matter, wee should seeme to doe that, which is alreadie done: yet we doe not denie, that which is alledged by some on your behalfe, that these prohibitions are hurtfull to your people, for that while the same are in force, they cannot with their profite sell their Corne, and many other things growing in their Country: but for this is an easier remedie, if your people wold bring a great part of the goods by her Maiesty prohibited into this Realme of England, where it should bee lawfull for them to sell the same with all fauour, and with their great gaine, and carry another part thereof into the Lowe Countreys and France, or into Italie, so it bee done without fraud, and that the same come not into the Spaniardes Countrey: and by this meanes they may carry out and transport all their goods safe, to the greater benefite of all the subiects of *Polone* then otherwise, which might bee prooued manifestly by diuers examples, and presently by this, that by carrying their Commodities into other Countreys besides Spaine, they should auoide the arresting of their Shippes, which happeneth euery yeere in that Countey:

so

ſo that many times, to their great charge they are compelled to rigge their ſhips, and fit them for warlike vſe, and ſo with eminent danger to hazard the loſſe of ſhips, and men in fight at ſea, as too often the Danzickers and others haue proued: and euen this preſent ſommer, it is knowne, that the Commanders of the Spaniſh Nauie haue hung vp and drowned in the Hauen of *Ferole* manie Mariners, Maiſters and Pilotes of ſhips pertaining to the Maritime Cities of the *Hanſes*, for that they went about to deliuer themſelues, and their ſhips from violent and conſtrained bondage. For the auoiding of the like loſſe and dammage, her Maieſtie this laſt yeare by publike writing ſet forth in the Dutch, French, & Latin tongue, declared, & gaue warning, that if there were any ſhips of forreigne Nations by any meanes, either with, or againſt their wils, detained in the Spaniſh armie by ſea, at that time ready to inuade England, it ſhould be lawful for them, for their ſafety, to withdraw themſelues out of the ſaid Armie to ours, or to depart home quietly to their own Ports, without any dammage to be done vnto them by her Maieſties people: & it is certain that many ſhips, as well of *Danzicke*, as of *Hamburgh*, were found detained by the Spaniards amongſt their ſhips, which the Engliſhmen of warre did their beſt to ſaue from burning when they did ſet fire on the Spaniſh Nauie: and if the King of Polones Counſellers had knowne of this writing, it had not bene congruent, that without mention of ſuch a benefit done to the kings ſubiects, they ſhould proſecute theſe matters in the worſer part: neither can we here paſſe ouer in ſilence, that before her Maieſty did put the foreſaid prohibitions in execution, ſhe manie wayes made it knowne, as well by publike letters, as alſo by Admonition of the Eaſt country Merchants, that ſhe now was of neceſſitie compelled for the defence of her Realme againſt the King of Spaine her open enemie, to forbid the tranſporting of Armes, Victuall, and other things into Spaine, wherewith the ſaid King might ſet forth and furniſh his Nauies, and Armies, and without the which he could not poſſibly continue the warre againſt this Realme. Beſides all this for the iuſtifying and defence of the ſaid her Maieſties

prohibitions, it manifestly appeareth, that the verie like haue beene often made by other Kings, and namely by the King of Polones father *Iohn* king of *Sweden*, and by *Sigismond* King of Polone, grandfather to the King that now is, who by force took much merchandise from her Maiesties subiects, for that they were to be caried into Muscouie, which manie honest Englishe Merchants, hereby brought into pouerty, haue cause to remēber. The like was also oftentimes done by the Kings of Sweden to the subiects of Denmark, who would haue traded into Muscouie. And for confirmation hereof we can shew the authentike Commissions of the said king *Sigismond*, giuen to his Admirall *Otto Mannickes*, the 25. of May. 1566. and others of the 12. of March 1569. to *Asmo Genricke*, & the like to *Hans Necker*, Captaines of his, to whom authority was giuen vnder the said Kings hand and seale, to intercept, take, spoyle, and make hauocke of all those, which by way of merchandise, or otherwise, should carie into Muscouie Powder, Ordinance, Saltpeter, Victuall, or any other kind of ware tending to warlike prouision. There be also letters extant, written in verie earnest maner by the said King *Sigismond* vnto her Maiestie, dated in March, 1568. wherein by many arguments he shewed, that the Traffike, or Nauigation into Sweden, and the *Narue*, forbidden to all men in generall, was most iust and lawfull, and by that meanes had prouided, that his enemies the Muscouites should not be furnished, and armed not only with armes, weapons, & ammunition, but with other greater matters, which might helpe his enemie, and to that end he writeth, that he had set a watch in the sea of men of war, with commandement, that if any man against their will would trade into Muscouie, they should take, and seaze vpon him, and all his goods. Of this Prohibition the Counsellers of Polone cannot be ignorant, neither was that wise and prouident King herein to be reprehēded. And after that these reasons were deliuered vnto the said Embassadour, hee was asked whether any thing could bee iustly opposed against them, whereunto he answered, that he had none authoritie to dispute of these matters, but onely to lay forth, that which he

he had in commission, and to require and answere thereunto: the said Counsellers therefore thought it not fit to vse any longer speech on that behalfe. But to conclude, auouched for a full answere of all that hath beene by the said Embassadour propounded, that seeing it is manifest, that this deede of her Maiestie is allowable; not onely by the law of Nature to defend her selfe, but also by the expresse ciuile law, & examples of the king of Sweden and Polone, especially by diuerse Charters of the Kings of England, therefore her said Maiesty could not be righly accused either of iniustice, or Iustice denied in any her doings, for as (said they) she hath alwayes professed (taking the omnipotēt God the searcher of harts to her witnesse) it was neuer in her mind to cōmit any thing against the sacred rule of Iustice, so she will be readie to giue eare to any complainant, either her owne subiect, or straunger, and by her Officers to do iustice to the said plaintife, according to equitie and reason: the which she will also performe towards you, if you shall recommend any expresse cause of any subiect of the kingdome of Polone. For her Maiestie is so readie, to giue answer to *Pisman* of *Danzick*, who (as it is said) followed you from thence, for the prosecuting of certaine his sutes for iustice, that if you did not in such haste vrge your departure, we her Maiesties Counsellours, before your departure, should haue authoritie, to heare and determine his said sutes, acording to reason and equitie. And to make an end of this long yet necessary answer of ours to your obiections, for that manie of the things published in your Embassage, may by imputation be taken in ill part against the honour and dignitie of her Maiestie, all which by our said answere are plainly proued to haue proceeded from your king ill informed, her Maiestie with good reason doth expect, that when her answers shall before the King and the Senate of his Realme bee compared with the complaints of the Complainers, the said Senate will prouide, that the truth of her Maiesties Actions bee no lesse publike by some meanes repaired, and restored, then the contrarie hath beene attempted by false accusations, and the Kings publike Embassage, that so it may

ap-

appeare, that the king hath that regard of the preseruation of mutuall friendship, as her Maiestie doth expect from a prince that is her confederate, and brother: this answer was made by their Honours aboue said on the thirteenth of August 1597. at *Greenwich*, with the which the said Polish Embassadour departed, and heerin the question betweene the English and the *Hanses* is fully laid open, and answered, and their malice against the state of the land plainly discouered: so that it were more then time, that they were restored, and satisfied in their vnreasonable pretences, as some without due consideration vnaduisedly desire. About this time, to wit, the first of August 1597. the Emperor continually called vpon by *Don Guillelmo S. Clement* ordinarie Ledger for the King of Spaine at *Prage*, & stirred vp as wel by the aboue said Embassages, as by the importunate, and clamorous sollicitations of the *Hanses*, permitted a Mandate or Edict to be published and set vp in the Empire, the tenour whereof ensueth, taken out of a translation of the said Mandat into the Netherlandish tonge, and printed *cum priuilegio* at *Brusselles*, to the greater and more enormous iniurie and reproach of her Maiestie, & her Highnesse actions, and of the Companie of Merchants Aduenturers, as no doubt their meaning was, that were the Authours and doers therof, and consequently to make the whole English nation and name the more odious and condemned of all men, thereby also openly iustifying and making lawfull all the vniust, and vnlawfull attempts, and practises of the king of Spaine and his ministers against her said Maiestie, Realme, and people.

The Emperours Mandat against the Merchants Aduenturers.

We *Rydolph* the second, by the grace of God Elect Romane Emperour, &c. to all and singular Princes, Electours, Princes Spirituall and temporal, Prelates, Earles, Barons, &c. send friendship, fauour, and all good: Heretofore in the time of our right welbeloued grandfather & father, the Emperors *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian* (of famous memorie) as also in the time of our Reigne ouer the Empire, the confederate Dutch *Hanse* Townes, and some others thereby interessed manie yeares together, and at sundrie times and tides not onely at

our

our Court, but alſo at former meetings of the Empire, eſpecially at *Auſburgh* in the yeare 1582. and at *Regensbourgh* in the yeare 1594. laſt paſt, haue in complaining wiſe declared and ſhewed: That 200. yeeres ago, and aboue had obtained and gotten notable priuiledges, immunities, freedomes, and exemptions within the Realme of England, partly by the eſpeciall grace and fauor of the kings of that Land, and partly with great ſummes of money, for the good and commoditie of the holy Empire, and the members of the ſame, and for the aduancement of the generall Trade and Commerce, which priuiledges, &c. they haue held and enioyed till now, not without their great and notable charge, as hauing beene graunted, approued & confirmed by fourteene Kings of England ſucceſſiuely, and in the yeare 1470 by foreknowledge and conſent of the ſtates of the Land both ſpiritual & temporall, made of the force, & nature of a perpetuall and irreuocable contract: whereupon they held their reſidence and Officers within the Citie of *London* in an houſe or counter, called the Dutch Guild hall, where they vſed to buy Cloth of the ſubiects of the Crowne of England, and caried the ſame from thence into Dutchland, by means whereof Engliſh Cloth was to be bought good cheape throughout all the ſaid countrie of Dutchland: from whence alſo on the other ſide, a Trade was driuen with all kind of wares ſeruing England, to the no ſmal profite and gaine, as well of vs, as of the ſubiects of the Empire, and of the Crowne of England. Which notwithſtanding certaine couetous Companies of Merchants, whereof ſome call themſelues Merchanrs Aduenturers, ſeeking their owne priuat gaine and lucre, are ſprung vp in the ſaid Realme, who by bad meanes haue wrought and practiſed, to the great and notorious hurt and damage of the foreſaid *Hanſes*, and haue taken vpon them to bring in many vntolerable innouations contrarie to the aboueſaid old Cuſtomes. Priuiledges, and perpetual contract, obtained, and purchaſed with the great coſts and charges of the ſayd *Hanſes*: So that it is come to paſſe, that the Queene of England now reigning, will not any longer endure to confirme the ſaid *Hanſes* Priuiledges,

Falſis narratis tacita & ſuppreſſa veritate.

Notwithſtanding this good cheape the Lanyzanes of Heſſen had at one time out of England 600. Clothes for their Liueries: which they would not haue bought there, if the Hanſes had ſold Cloth ſo good cheape, as heere is ſaid.

ing done, it was found by the deposition of not a few credible persons at *Francfort* vpon *Main*, in the Lent Mart 1581. and by other information on this behalfe taken, that all that is aboue written clearely appeared: and that which is more, that the aforesaid Aduenturers Colledges were heretofore forbidden, and banished out of *Danzicke* in Prussia, as also out of some places of the low Burgundish, and other Countries: Whereupon hauing with our selues weighed the whole matter, according to the importance thereof, and considered, that these things concerned not onely the *Hanse* Townes, but also all the subiects and Merchants of the holy Empire, the further proceeding therin was deferred to a general assembly of the Empire, holden at *Ausburgh* in the yeare 1582. against which we caused the Acts and propositions concerning the same, to be sent vnto all the Princes Electors, to the end, that they might the ripelier and better consider vpon the same, and afterwards we laid the matter in deliberation of all the States of the holy Empire: who after mature counsell, and bethinking, gaue vs their aduise and opinions vpon the same, praying vs withall, that seeing there was no meanes to obtaine at the foresaid Queene of Englands hands the full restitution of the foresaide *Hanses* priuiledges, hereditarie agreement, & contract, and that in the meane while the English Aduenturers Companie vsed, and went forward with an hurtfull Monopoly, against all right and reason, that we would with publike Edicts forbid the foresaid Merchants Aduenturers their trade by water, and by land, throughout the holy Empire, and the iurisdiction and command of the same. And further, that we would straightly charge, and vpon great penalties enioyne euerie State, whom it might concerne, not to permit the said M. M. Aduenturers, or their Consorts, confederated Companies, factors and seruants, to haue recourse or any common Traffike in any place within the holy Empire, but rather to expell, defend, and forbid the same, vpon paine of our indignation, and losse of all Royalties, Fiefes, Rights and iurisdictions, which to the disobedient on this behalfe might appertaine or belong, either vnder vs or the Holy Empire.

* *How the M. M. Aduenturers were banished out of the Burgundish low Countries, appeareth before, and if they be not now banished out of the Empire by the practise of the same men the Spanish Ministers, let the wise iudge.*

And

And if so be, that contrary to this our Emperial commandement, the English Merchants Aduenturers, or their factors or seruants, should be so bold, as to vse or driue any trade either in buying or selling of English clothes, Wooll or other wares what soeuer, at any place within the holy Empire, that then each Magistrate & Ruler within his command or iurisdiction, should be holden where the said bought or sold goods may be found, & where such trade is vsed, presently to seaze vpō and confiscate the said forbidden goods, as by the contents of the aduise, and determination to vs at that time deliuered at *Ausburghe* on the behalf of the Electors, princes and States of the holy Empire more at large appeareth; howbeit wee proceeded not to the publishing of the said Mandates, but notwithstanding that the Deputies of the said *Hanse* townes earnestly insisted to haue a finall conclusion of this matter, we first of all sought by al gentle meanes, to induce, & moue the Queen of England, for the confirmation of good neighbourhood, to giue vs and the Empire, as also the *Hanse* townes contentment in the aboue-written complaints & grieuances, without compelling vs for that cause to vse any sharper meanes, or remedie: and to that end we gaue her Ambassador, at that time being at *Ausburghe*, to vnderstand, through what vrgent and necessarie occasions the foresaid Mandate was concluded, & resolued vpon by vs and the States of this holy Empire, and withall to offer that whensoeuer it should like the Queene of England, to suffer the matter to bee brought to a friendly treatie and communication, and to that ende should appoint her Embassadours with full Commission, that we then on the otherside would be willing to depute also certaine personages of qualitie, & countenance, before whom both parties should appeare at some conuenient place within the Empire, and lay forth their doleances, and grieses, and so grow to a composition and determination in all reason, & with a true and faithfull heart and meaning: We also admonished, & finally moued the *Hanse* townes to their great cost and charges to send a perticular Legation into England vnto the Queene, where after they had presented our letters of Intercession, which we

ing done, it was found by the deposition of not a few credible persons at *Francfort* vpon *Main*, in the Lent Mart 1581. and by other information on this behalfe taken, that all that is aboue written clearely appeared: and that which is more, that the aforesaid Aduenturers Colledges were heretofore forbidden, and banished out of *Dantzicke* in Prussia, as also out of some places of the low Burgundish, and other Countries: Whereupon hauing with our selues weighed the whole matter, according to the importance thereof, and considered, that these things concerned not onely the *Hanse* Townes, but also all the subiects and Merchants of the holy Empire, the further proceeding therin was deferred to a generall assembly of the Empire, holden at *Ausburgh* in the yeare 1582. against which we caused the Acts and propositions concerning the same, to be sent vnto all the Princes Electors, to the end, that they might the rpelier and better consider vpon the same, and afterwards we laid the matter in deliberation of all the States of the holy Empire: who after mature counsell, and bethinking, gaue vs their aduise and opinions vpon the same, praying vs withall, that seeing there was no meanes to obtaine at the foresaid Queene of Englands hands the full restitution of the foresaide *Hanses* priuiledges, hereditarie agreement, & contract, and that in the meane while the English Aduenturers Companie vsed, and went forward with an hurtfull Monopoly, against all right and reason, that we would with publike Edicts forbid the foresaid Merchants Aduenturers their trade by water, and by land, throughout the holy Empire, and the iurisdiction and command of the same. And further, that we would straightly charge, and vpon great penalties enioyne euerie State, whom it might concerne, not to permit the said M. M. Aduenturers, or their Consorts, confederated Companies, factors and seruants, to haue recourse or any common Traffike in any place within the holy Empire, but rather to expell, defend, and forbid the same, vpon paine of our indignation, and losse of all Royalties, Fiefes, Rights and iurisdictions, which to the disobedient on this behalfe might appertaine or belong, either vnder vs or the Holy Empire.

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gaue them with them, a friendly agreement, and compositi-
on was required, but they could not effect or profit any thing
on this behalfe, but receiued of the Queene a cleane contra-
rie answere. In the meane while the Aduenturers with their
Monopolish trade and dealings encreased more and more,
and multiplied in the Empire, and ouer, and aboue this, the
English did vnto the subiectes of vs, and the holy Empire in
the open sea, great violence and damage: Which discom-
moditie began, continued, & encreased whole twelue yeres
long, to wit, from the Assembly at *Ausbourghe*, 82. to the As-
sembly last held at *Regensbroughe* 94. to the preiudice and
contempt not onely of our Emperiall Intercession, but also
of the writing of the *Hanse* townes, and of the many wayes
sought for the friendly appointment, in so much that the
Hanse townes, at the last holden Assembly at *Rigensbroughe*,
againe complained on this behalfe, and wee considering the
manifest necessitie of the cause, laid the same a fresh in deli-
beration, and consultation with the Electors, Princes, and
States which then appeared, and with the Counsellours, Am-
bassadours, and Deputies of the Princes which appeared not
personally at the said Assembly: And for as much, as it was
found to be against all right and reason, that the *Hanses* should
be spoiled in the Realme of England of all their lust title,
hereditarie agreement and Priuiledges gotten, as aforesaide
with their great cost and charges, and that on the other side
the M.M. Aduenturers with their Conuenticles, Companie
and traine, without any * permission of vs as presently raign-
ing Romaine Emperour and supreme head of the holy Em-
pire, yea, that which is more, contrarie to all former recesses,
and Mandates, should *de facto* intrude themselues and goe
through with their trade, to the notable losse and damage of
all the States of this Empire great and small, and to the bring-
ing in of a dearth in Cloth and Woolle, & by their Monopo-
lish practises (which according to the constitutions of vs and
the holy Empire deserue great punishment) to goe about to
weaken and ouerthrow the ancient and honest trade of Mer-
chandise vsed among the laudable Dutch Nation: without

making

Contractus sunt de Iure Gentium liberi: & vt liberi sunt, ita etiam ignorante Magistratu ex generali legum concessione cum quouis non hoste libere & licite exercentur.

making mention in this place of the outrage, force and violence, which the aforesaid English had committed, with manifold robberies, & spoilings at sea, to the dangerous consequence and preiudice of the iurisdiction, & superiority which pertaineth and belongeth to vs and the holy Empire in the same: therefore in the foresaid assembly of the Empire, it was with one voyce and consent concluded and resolued of vs by the Electors, princes & States required, that if so be (notwithstanding all the great paines & charges hitherto in vaine bestowed) at our new instance & requisition with deduction of all the circumstances thereto necessary, the Queene of England would not let the *Hanse* townes inioy their Priuiledges free, certaine, and whole, as heretofore of old they had them, and would not also suffer the Commerce, & trade open, and vnmolested, that then wee should indeed assist the *Hanse* townes, as the faithfull subiectes of vs, and the holy Empire, and should cause the aboue-mentioned Mandate agreed vpon at *Ausborough* 1582. to be published and put in execution against the hurtfull Monopolish Company of the M.M. Aduenturers, without any fauour, dissimulation, or composition: which Consultation in such maner by the Electours, Princes, & States in generall, with one consent propounded, at former Assemblies, & now againe renued, were according to right and reason confirmed and ratified, and consequently the fifth of Iuly 1595. wrote vnto the aforesaid Queene louingly, and neighbourly requiring her a newe, and setting before her eies the aforsaid reasons, with many other motiues thereto seruing, that she would cause the old, and continuall complaints, together with the oppressions & damages of the *Hanse* townes to cease, but we receiued such an answere vnto this our writing, that therby it may sufficiently be perceiued, that our hetherto long vsed patience is not only receiued with small thanks, but withal the sayd Q. presumeth, to ascribe vnto her self some interest herein, & to draw the same into consequence, as though by our deferring of the publishing of the said Mandates, the intrusion of the aforesaid M.M. Aduenturers were allowed, or that it stood in the liking, choyce, will,

and

and power of the Queene, to take from the aforesaid *Hanse* townes their dearly purchased liberties, & hereditary accord, and so wil not that in any other place then in England (where shee may bee iudge and partie) that any treatie bee held on this behalfe, and besides requiring that her subiects according to their owne good liking and pleasure may haunt, liue, and exercise their Marchandise within the Empire of the Dutch nation, which for vs and the Empire it falleth altogether grieuous, and very contumelious to dissemble any longer: therefore then, whereas wee in regard of our Emperiall office and place, cannot any longer delay to put in execution the aforesaid consultations, and Decrees of the yeeres 82. and 94. for the furtherance of the common welfare, and for necessities sake, especially seeing the Monopolies, & preiudiciall, dangerous & vnlawfull forestalling (which as is abouesaid, are vsed among the English Aduenturers Companie) by testimonies and other credible informations, are altogether open and manifest, and not only according to the common written lawes, but also according to the published Constitutions of the Empire, are forbidden vpon great penaltie and punishment, to wit, losse of goods and chattell, and banishment out of the land.

Therefore is it that we prohibite, banish out, and proscribe all the forenamed English M.M. to wit, the whole companie of the M.M. Aduenturers, together with their hurtful dealings, trafficks, and contractings out of all the holy Empire, so that such hurtfull Commerces, and dealings of the English Aduenturers, with the conuentions, compactes, and alliances on this behalfe made, from this time forwad shall bee forbidden and made void, without that any man by himselfe, or any other shall or may hereafter exercise, or practise the same: ordayning therefore, & commanding expressly by our Romish Emperiall power and authoritie, according to the resolution of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire agreed vpon, renued, & approued, that vpon paine of the ban, and proscription of vs and the holy Empire, all & euery Merchants, and dealers in English cloth (to the Companies of M.M. Aduenturers

uenturers any waies allyed or aſſociated) together with their Factours, Agentes, Atturnyes, and ſeruants, that within three months after the publiſhing, & ſetting forth of theſe preſents, they depart and remoue without further delay, or oppoſition out of the rule, command, and land of vs, and of the holy Empire, as alſo of the Electours, and common States, and ſpecially out of the towne of *Stade*, ſituate in the Archbiſhopricke of *Breme*, and out of all other partes and places, where they commonly haue their reſidence, and conuenticles, or exerciſe their Trade: and that from henceforward they wholly, and entirely abſtaine, and forbeare from all recourſe, & Commerces howſoeuer they may bee called by water & by land, openly or priuily throughout all the whole Empire. And further we giue commandement to all Princes Electours, Princes, States and ſubiects of vs and the holy Empire, vpon the forfeiture of all their Royalties, Fiefs, and other rights, and dueties obtained of vs, and the holy Empire (which euery one whoſoeuer ſhall dare wilfully to doe here againſt *ipſo facto* ſhall for forfeit) that they vnto the ſaid Engliſh, naming themſelues Merchants Aduenturers, their Societies, Companies, Factours and Seruantes, no where in the holy Empire by land or by water, doe giue, yeeld, or permit any open, or ſecret conueighance paſſage, helpe, or other fauour, but the ſame doe altogether let and prohibite: And if ſo be that the Engliſh Aduenturers, their Adherentes, Factours, or Seruants boldly ſhall go forward, or proceed, contrary to this our Emperiall Mandate, and commaundement, either in buying or ſelling of Clothes and Wooll, or with exerciſing any other Commerces, howſoeuer they may bee called in any quarter or place of the holy Empire, in ſuch caſe, hereby authoritie and power is giuen, and earneſtly is inioyned, and required that all Magiſtrates, and Rulers, vnder whoſe command, or Iuriſdiction ſuch place immediatly doeth lye, and where ſuch kinde of trade is vſed, or were ſuch bought or ſold goods may be found, to apprehend the perſons without delay, and to arreſt and confiſcate the forbidden goods. And further it ſhall not be lawfull for any Magiſtrate, or Ruler in

the Empire, to giue Conuoy, or safeconduct with whatsoeuer words, meaning, colour, or clauses the said Conuoyes or safeconductes may be cõceiued, or set down, to the English Aduenturers Companyes, Merchants or dealers, neither shall they be conducted or conuoyed by any Magistrate, or Superiour in the said Empire: and in case that the Magistrate, or Superiour shall be herein negligent, or slacke, and that we, or our Procurour Fiscaell shall be thereof aduertised, then our will is, that the said Fiscael (according to our Commaundement to him in earnest maner already giuen) on this behalfe, to aduertise the Magistrate, or Superiour, where the said Merchauntes, and Dealers dwell, or reside, and admonishe the same such Englishe trade foorthwith out of hande to forbid: and if so bee the saide Magistrate, or Superiour, doe not so within the prefixed tyme, we will on our Emperiall Courtes parte, or otherwise our foresaid Fischale shall haue full power, right, and authoritie to proceede to the execution of this our Emperiall Mandate, and by vertue of this his office presently to call in question the disobedient, without all fauour or dissimulation, as the necessitie of the cause shal require, without that it shall be lawfull for the aforesaid misdoers to alleadge, or produce any exceptions, or declinatorie delay in any maner whatsoeuer. And for that it is lawful & permitted to euery man to giue information against the transgressours, therefore whosoeuer first shall informe the Magistrate, where offence is made of the said offence plainely and truely, or in case of negligence in the said Magistrate, or Fiscaell, he shal haue the fourth part of the offendours goods, wherein also he shall be assisted, and holpen by the foresaid Magistrate, or Superiour, or in default thereof by vs, and our Emperiall Chamber right, and by all other States of the holy Empire: according to this let euery man take knowledge, howe to demeane himselfe. Giuen in our Royall Castell at *Praghe*, the first day of the moneth of August. *Anno* 1597. of our Romish Kingdome the 22. yeere, of *Hungarie* the 25. and of *Bohemia* also the 22. Subscribed *Rudolph*, Paragraphed *I. D. W. Freymondt, ad Mandatum Sacræ Cæsareæ Maiestatis proprium*, And signed *An Han-*

Hamiwalt: and the priuie ſeale of the Emperors Maieſtie was printed vpon the ſame in forme of a *Placcart* or *Edict*.

Theſe are the words of the Mandate, which I haue fully & truely ſet downe, to the end that it may the better appeare, what the cauſes were of the ſaid Mandat, & what good frieds the *Hanſes* are to the ſtate of England. Cõcerning the cauſes, I note them to be three in number: Firſt, *The taking away of the Eaſterlinges Priuiledges in England*. Secondlie, *The doings of the Engliſhmen of warre at the Sea*. And thirdlie, *The Monopolie vſed by the Merchantes Aduenturers*. To the firſt two cauſes her Maieſtie at ſundrie times hath ſufficientlie anſwered, and namely by her Letters written to the Emperour in the yeares 1585. and laſtlie, by the anſwere giuen to the Poliſh Embaſſadour, as aboue at large is ſet downe. As for the Monopoly wherewith the Merchants Aduenturers are charged, it is but a meere ſlaunder, and iniurious imputation, maliciouſlie deuiſed by the *Hanſes*, to bleare the eies of the States, & Princes of the Empire withall, and to drawe them vnder colour of complayning on the M.M. Aduenturers, as Monopoliſhe traders, to ayde, and aſſiſte the ſaide *Hanſes* to recouer their Priuiledges againe, and to maintaine them therein, contrarie to all reaſon againſt the Engliſh Nation, as I doubt not anone moſt plainly, & clearely to proue.

Her Maieſtie being enformed of the aboueſaid Mandate, ſent Maiſter *Iohn Wrothe*, & Maiſter *Stephen Leſieur*, with letters to the Emperour, and diuerſe of the Electours, and Princes of Germanie, declaring her Highnes opinion of this proceeding as an vniuſt practiſe and doing of the *Hanſes*, and therefore required to haue the ſaid Mandate reuoked, or ſuſpended, but being vncertain, what would follow hereupon, it ſeemed good vnto her Maieſtie in the mean time, to direct a commiſſion to the Maior, and Sheriffes of the Cittie of London, in maner following.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of Engl̄d, France, and Ireland. Defender of the faith, &c. To our right truſtie & welbeloued the Maior, and Sheriffes of our Citie of *London* greeting. Wheras there hath bin directed a Commandment

by the name of a Mandate, from the Romaine Emperour to all Electors, Prelates, Earles and all other Officers, and ſubiectes of the Empire, reciting ſundry complaintes made to him by the allied Townes of the Durch *Hauſes* in Germany, of diuers iniuries committed againſt them in our Realme, and likewiſe vpon complaint made by them againſt the companie of M.M. Aduenturers, without hearing any anſwere to bee made to the ſaide *Hanſe* Townes in diſproofe of their complaints, the ſame being moſt notorious vniuſt, and not to be mainteyned by any trueth. And yet neuertheles by this Mandate the Engliſh Marchants, namely the M. M. Aduẽturers are forbidden to vſe any trafficke of Merchandiſe within the Empire, but are commanded to depart from thence vpon paines, & to forbeare openly and ſecretly from all hauens, and landing places, or to vſe any Commerce by water or by land in the Empire, vpon paine of apprehenſion of their perſons, & confiſcation of their goods, with ſundry other extreme ſentẽces pronounced againſt our ſaid ſubiects; hereupon, although we haue ſent our letters expreſly to the Emperor and to the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, declaring our opinion of this proceeding, to be vniuſtly proſecuted by the ſaid *Hanſe* Townes, and therefore haue required to haue the ſaide Mandate either reuoked or ſuſpended, yet being vncertaine what ſhall follow hereupon, we haue thought it agreeable to our honour in the meane time, to commaund all ſuch as are here within our realm, appertaining to the ſaid *Hanſe* towns, ſituete in the Empire, and eſpecially all ſuch as haue any reſidence in our citie of London, either in the houſe commonly called the Steelyard, or in any other place elſewhere, do forbeare to vſe any maner of trafficke of Merchandiſe, or to make any contractes, and likewiſe to depart out of our Dominions in like ſort, as our ſubiects are commanded to depart out of the Empire, vpon the like paines, as are conteyned againſt our ſubiectes in the ſaide Mandate. And for the execution of this our Commaundement, wee will, that you the Maior of our ſaid Citie of London, and the Sheriffes, ſhall foorthwith repaire to the houſe, called the Steelyarde, and

and calling before you ſuch, as haue charge thereof, or do reſide there, to giue them knowledge of this our determination and commaundement: Charging them by the foure and twentiethday of this moneth (being the day that our Merchants are to depart from *Stade*) they do depart out of this Realme: charging them alſo, that they giue knowledge thereof to ſuch as be of any of the *Hanſe* Townes belonging to the Empire, remaining to any part of our Realme, to depart likewiſe by the ſaid day. And you the Maior and Sheriffes, calling vnto you two of the officers of our Cuſtomhouſe, to take poſſeſſion of the ſaid houſe the ſaid 24. day, to remaine in our cuſtodie, vntill we ſhall vnderſtand of any more fauourable courſe taken by the Emperour, for the reſtitution of our ſubiects to their former lawfull trade within the Empire, and this ſhall be your warrant for the execution of the Premiſes. In witneſſe whereof wee haue cauſed theſe our Letters to be made patent: Witneſſe our ſelfe at *Weſtminſter*: the thirteenth of Ianuarie in the fortieth yeere of our Reigne.

In this ſtate the matters haue hung euer ſince, the M. M. Aduenturers ſtill expecting a Diete, or generall Aſſembly of the Princes and States of the Empire, in hope that by her Maieſties gracious interuention for them, the aboueſaid Mandat may be either abrogated, or ſuſpended, and they reſtored to their former trade, and priuiledges in the Empire, for without ſuch an aſſembly this can be done, (as appeareth plainely by the anſwer of the Emperour, and Princes vnto thoſe Letters which it pleaſed her Highneſſe to write by the abouesaide Maiſter *Wroth* and Maiſter *Leſieur*) and on the other ſide the *Hanſes* ſtil laboring to haue the abouesaid Mandate extended and ſtretched further then the contents thereof will beare, to wit, that all Engliſhmen generally, and all Engliſh wares, ſhould be baniſhed and forbidden the Empire: for that other wiſe they ſee, that they looſe their labour and coſt, and the Merchants Aduenturers find means to continue their trade, and to vent the Commodities of their Country in Germany, maugre all that their Aduerſaries & ill willers can do, though

not in that ſort that were conuenient, but becauſe you ſhall ſee, what cauſe the *Hanſes* haue to complaine in ſuch clamorous maner, as they do of iniuries done them in this Realme, I will giue you the view of a Decree of the right Honourable priuy Counſell, giuen at *Weſtminſter* the 24. day of Februarie in the ſixt yeare of the reigne of King *Edward* the ſixt, in theſe words following.

Decree againſt the Hanſes in the reigne of K. Edward the ſixth.

In the matter touching the Information exhibited againſt the Merchantes of the *Hanſe*, commonlie called the Merchauntes of the Steelyard, vpon good conſideration, as well of the ſaid Information, as alſo of the anſwere of the ſaid Merchants of the Steelyard, and of ſuch records, Writings, Charters, Treaties, Depoſitions of witneſſes, and other recordes and proofes, as hath beene exhibited on both parties, it was found apparant to the Kings Maieſties priuie Councel as followeth.

Firſt, it is found, that all liberties and priuiledges pretended to be graunted to the ſaid Merchants of the *Hanſe* bee void by the lawes of the Realme, foraſmuch as the ſame Merchants of the *Hanſe* haue no ſufficient Corporation to receiue the ſame. It appeareth alſo, that ſuch graunt, and Priuiledges, as the ſaid Merchaunts of the *Hanſe* do claime to haue, doe not extende to anie perſons, or Townes certaine, and therfore vncertain what perſons, or which townes ſhould enioy the ſaid priuiledges: by reaſon of which vncertaintie, they haue, & do admit to be free with them whom & as many as they liſt, to the great preiudice & hurt of the kings Maieſties Cuſtomes, & yeerely hinderance of twentie thouſand poundes, or neere thereabouts, beſides the common hurt to the whole realme. It appeareth alſo, that if the pretended grants were good by the lawes of the Realme, as indeed they be not, yet the ſame were made vpon condition, that they ſhould not auow, or colour any forreignes goods or merchandiſes, which condition the Merchants of the *Hanſe* haue not obſerued, as may appear by office found remaining of record in the Kings Maieſties Exchequer, and by other ſufficient proofes of the ſame. It appeareth alſo, that one hundred

dred yeares, and more, after the pretended priuiledges granted to them, the foreſaid Merchants of the *Hanſe* vſed to tranſport no Merchandiſe out of this Realme, but onely into their owne countries, neither to bring into this Realme anie wares, or merchandiſe, but onely ſuch as were commodities of their owne Countries: where at this preſent they do not only conueigh the Merchandiſe of this Realme into the baſe countries of *Brabant*, *Flaunders*, and other places neare adioining, and there ſell the ſame, to the great dammage, and ſubuerſion of the laudable order of the Kings Maieſties ſubiects, trading thoſe parties for Merchandiſe, but alſo do bring into this Realme, the Merchandiſe, and cõmodities of all forreigne Countries, contrarie to the true meaning of the graunts of their Priuiledges, declared by the ancient vſage of the ſame: by meanes whereof the Kings Maieſtie hath not onely loſt much in his Cuſtomes, but alſo it is contrary to the conditions of a Recogniſance, made in the time of King *Henrie* the ſeuenth. It appeared alſo, that like as the Priuiledges heretofore graunted to the ſaid Merchants of the Steelyard, being at the beginning reaſonably vſed, were commodious and much profitable vnto them, without any notable, exceſſiue, or enorme preiudice to the royall eſtate of this Realme, ſo now of late yeares, by taking of ſuch, and ſo manie as they liſt into their ſociety, and by bringing in the commodities of all other Countries, as carrying out the cõmodities of this realm into al other places, their ſaid pretẽſed priuiledges are growne ſo preiudiciall to the King & his crowne, as without the great hurt thereof, and of the whole eſtate of this Realme, the ſame may not be long endured.

Item, in the time of King *Edward* the fourth, the ſaid Merchants of the Hanſe forfeited their pretended priuiledges by meanes of warre between this Realme and them, whereupon a Treatie was made, and agreed, that the ſubiects of this Realme ſhould haue like liberties in the land of *Pruſſe*, and other places of the Hanſe, as they had, and ought to haue vſed there, and that no impoſts, newe exactions, or other preſtes ſhould be ſet vpon their perſons, or goods otherwiſe, or by

other

other meane, then before ten, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie, yea an hundred yeares agoe, and aboue had beene, or were ſet, which hath beene, and is daily much broken, and ſpecially in *Danzicke*, not only by prohibiting Engliſh men freely to buy and ſell there, but alſo in leuying vpon them certaine exactions, and impoſitions, contrarie to the ſaid Treatie: And notwithſtanding, that diuerſe requeſts haue beene made, as well by the Kings Maieſties Father, as by his Maieſtie, for the preſent redreſſe of ſuch wrongs as haue beene done to the Engliſh Merchants, contrarie to the ſaid Treatie, yet no reformation hath hetherto enſued. In conſideration of which the premiſes, and ſuch other matters as hath appeared in the examination of this matter, the Lords of the Kings Maieſties priuie Counſell, on his Highneſſe behalfe decreed, That the Priuiledges, Liberties and Franchiſes claimed by the foreſaid Merchants of the Steelyard, ſhall from henceforth be and remaine ſeazed, and reſumed into the Kings Maieſties handes, vntill the ſaid Merchants of the Steelyard ſhall declare, and proue better and more ſufficient matter for their claime in the premiſes, ſauing and reſeruing vnto the ſaid Merchants of the Steelyard all ſuch, and like liberties of cõming into this Realme, and other the Kings Dominions, buying, ſelling, all and all maner of traffike and trade of Merchandiſe in as large and ample maner, as any other Merchants ſtrangers haue, or of right ought to haue within the ſame. This order aforeſaid, or anie thing herein contained to the contrarie notwithſtanding. This Decree was firmed by *T. Ely Chauncellour, Winchester, Northumberland, Bedford, Westmerland, Shrewsburie, E. Clinton, T. Darcie, N. Witton,* and *W. Cecill.* By the contents whereof, a man may plainely ſee, that whatſoeuer happened to the *Hanſes* in England, they themſelues gaue the occaſion thereof, and therfore had no iuſt or lawfull cauſe to complaine. Notwithſtanding Queene *Marie* by the way of Receſſe, the land being full of troubles, reuoked this Decree, and reſtored the *Hanſes* to their former priuiledges, in the moneth of Aprill An. 1553. at which time the *Hanſes* had their Commiſſioners in England about a Treatie offered by

King

King *Edward*, and accepted by the *Hanſes* after the aboue-ſaid reſumption, whereunto ſhe was reduced for two reaſons: the one was, for that the *Hanſes* Commiſſioners promiſed, that their inordinate trade, forbidden by the lawes of the land, and their too too much frequenting the low Countries, ſhould be left: The other was, for that by meanes of the dangerouſnes & hardnes of the time, the aboueſaid Decree of the reſumption of the *Hanſes* Priuiledges, could not be dealt in: but this promiſe of the Commiſſioners not being performed, the ſaid Queene in the yeare 1556. cauſed her foreſaid Reuocation to be altered, and by a Decree reſtrained the *Hanſes* trade in the low Countries with Cloth, and their bringing in of any other forreigne wares, then thoſe of their owne lands only, ſuffering them notwithſtanding in other points, to vſe their pretenſed Priuiledges: and afterwards by mediation of King *Philip*, yeelding to a further moderation, with condition that the *Hanſes* within one yeare next enſuing, ſhould ſend their Commiſſioners into England, to confer, treat, and conclude with her Highneſſe Couſellors, in what ſort their Priuiledges ought to be taken and vſed. A whole yeare paſſed, and fiue weeks beſides without any newes or tidings of any commiſſioners, and to requite the manifold fauours they had receiued, they at an Aſſembly of the *Hanſes* at *Lubeck*, publiſhed an Edict againſt all Engliſh men forbidding all trade or Commerce with them, and ſtaying the carrying out of Corne, which was prouided for the ſeruice and neceſſitie of the Realme: yet for all theſe indignities, the ſaid Queene was contented that Commiſſaries on both parts ſhould meet in England, and agree vpon, and ſet downe a certaine and immutable manner of Trade to be held, and obſerued on both parts ſides: but the *Hanſes* were ſo farre from accepting of this gracious offer, that they wholly refuſed it, as by a petition of theirs exhibited to King *Philip*, the third of Iune 1557. appeareth, wherein they declare the cauſe of that their refuſall to bee, for that they coulde not haue in this Realme anie other iudges of their cauſe, but ſuch as were ſuſpected, not ſparing, or excepting the Queene her ſelfe, of

Reuocation of the foreſaid Reuocation.

whoſe good will and fauour, they had receiued ſo often experience and triall. In theſe tearmes the *Hanſes* Priuiledges ſtoode all Queene *Maries* dayes, after whoſe deceaſe her Maieſtie that now is, ſucceeding, and finding them as they were left without any other ground or foundation, then the Princes fauour and good pleaſure, yet at the ſollicitation of *Sniderman*, and others, Commiſſioners from the *Hanſes*, her Highneſſe was contented, that a meeting and communication ſhould be held in the yeare 1560. whereas the *Hanſes* ſtood and inſiſted vpon their old Treaties: and thoſe appointed by her Maieſtie propounded certaine other Articles, intituled, *A moderation of the olde Priuiledges*, with this clauſe of ſingular fauour, *Neque tamen excellentiſſima Regina propter hanc Moderationem ab vllo ſuperiori legitimo Iure vlla ex parte recedi vult, ſed ſaluum ius, ſaluas actiones, ſaluam denique reliquam omnem in hac Commercii cauſa materiam, & ſibi ex altera parte, & ſuis ſucceſſoribus, & ex altera parte Confederatis Ciuitatibus, & eorum poſteritatis reſeruat.* But the *Hanſes* Commiſſioners not liking thereof, the Treatie brake vp without any effect. In which tearmes the matter hung till the yeare 1572. at which time new Commiſſioners from the *Hanſe* Townes comming into England for other cauſes, they renewed their former ſuit and petition: whereunto they receiued this anſwere, That concerning the Cuſtome of their goods, there ſhould nothing more be exacted of them, then was propounded to the former Commiſſioners in the yeare 1560. All this while her Maieſties ſubiects were depriued of all priuiledge, and in diuerſe of the Hanſe Townes hardly and extreamly vſed, as at *Danſicke*, *Deuenter*, *Campen* and *Swoll*, to the great hurt and hinderance of the trade: and becauſe the Hanſes vnmeaſurably frequented the City of *Antwerpe* with Engliſh Commoditie, the Merchants Aduenturers were forced to draw themſelues wholy to the ſaid Citie, and leaue *Berghen ap Zoom*, where they vſed to keepe two Marts in the yeere: But finally the ſaid Aduenturers were forced to leaue *Antwerpe* alſo, and to ſeeke another place, as hath beene aboue rehearſed: ſo that in the yeare

Matter paſſed betweene her Maieſtie and the Hanſes.

1567.

1567. they obtained Priuiledges for ten yeares of the Town of *Hamburgh* with this condition thereunto added. *Quod elapsis supradictis annis concessio dictorum Priuilegiorum renouaretur, & continuaretur in infinitum, si interim non cederet in Ciuitatis suæ damnum, vel dispendium.* That the ten yeres time being expired, the foresaid Priuiledges should be renewed, and continued for euer, if in the mean while no hurt, or dammage happened to their Citie thereby. But for all this, when the ten yeares were almost complete and run out, the Hamburgers signified to the Merchants Aduēturers, that the time of their Priuiledges expired, & that by a Decree of the Hanse townes made at *Lubeke*, they were enioyned, not to grant to the said Aduenturers anie longer Priuiledges, pretending the cause to be, for that in England the said Hanses were restrained of their ancient liberties, and that daily new exactions were imposed vpon their goods, cōtrarie to former Treaties: which done, the said Hamburgers passed a Decree the 20. of Iune, 1578. whereby they abrogated all former liberties granted to the said Aduenturers, and ordained that after a prefixed day set downe in the said Decree, they should not enioy any other priuiledge or immunitie, then anie other strangers in the said Citie: which assoone as her Maiestie and her honorable Counsell vnderstood, they requited the Hanses with a like Decree, which yet was suspēded til the 25. of Iuly. 1579. at which time her Maiestie, not receiuing any satisfaction at the Hanses hands, but to the contrarie vnderstāding, that the said Hanses, at an Assembly at *Lunenburgh*, the second of November 1579. had set forth an Edict for the leuying of $7\frac{1}{2}$ vpon the hundred of all goods brought by Englishmen into their territories, or carried out of the same: Her Highnesse vpon this occasion commanded the like decree to be made, for the taking of the like summe vpon the goods of the Hanses, and in this estate the matter stood on both parts, till that by a petition put vp by the Alderman of the Steelyard this last decree of $7\frac{1}{2}$ vpon the 100. was suspended for foure moneths: but the first, because it depended vpon the restraint of Trade of her Maiesties subiects, the Lords of the Councell

thought not good to suspend, or reuoke the same, til the contents thereof were satisfied, and fulfilled.

And thus I haue briefly and truely set downe what hath passed, and in what state at this day the whole controuersie betweene her Maiestie, and the *Hanses* standeth: by the discourse whereof I doubt not, but it plainly appeareth, that (as aforesaid) the *Hanses* haue no iust or lawfull cause to complaine, for that they haue themselues beene the cause of all that happened: For first, the resuming of their Priuiledges in the dayes of King *Edward*, proceeded of this, that they freed and coloured mens goods that were none of their societie, and for other causes aboue rehearsed. Secondly, when as Queene *Marie* had reuoked that, which had bene done by her brother, she her selfe at length reuoked the said Reuocation, for that the *Hanses* had broken promise with her, in continuing an vnlawfull trade in the low Countries, whereby she lost in her Customes within the space of eleuen moneths, more then 9360 pound sterling, besides the dammage sustained by her subiects in their trade, and when as she offered a meeting for the deciding of all controuersies: the *Hanses* vtterly refused the same, and would none of it. Thirdly, her Maiestie that now is, when she came first to the Crowne, commanded that the *Hanses* should be vsed as well (yea in some points better) then her owne subiects, but they in recompence of this fauour, not prouoked with any new occasion, commmanded that the exercise and trade of Merchandise graunted to her Highnesse subiects by the Hamburgers, *cum clausula perpetuitatis* should be broken off, & disanulled: & afterward when her Matie reuqired a reformation of this their Decree, they in steed thereof imposed that exaction of theirs of seuen and three quarters vpon the hundred: And so with their new impositions, their refusing of a meeting, and Conference in England, their abusing of their libertie in the low Countries, by doing manie things to the preiudice of her Maiestie and subiects, by diminishing the reuenewes of the Crowne, by colouring other mens goods, vnder the pretence of their Priuiledges, they were finally

The Hanses themselues are the of the restraint of their priuiledges in England.

nally depriued of their liberties, and immunities at the pleaſure of her Highneſſe, yet alwayes were more friendly vſed, then any other the ſubiects of the Princes in amitie & league with her Maieſtie, for the which they neuer ſhewed any ſparke of thankfulneſſe, but haue from time to time vniuſtly accuſed her Highnes to forreigne princes and States, her Maieſties louing friendes and confederates, and to this day with much clamorouſnes and importunacie leaue not off to doe the ſame without reſpect to the perſon and qualitie, of ſo excellent & gracious a Princeſſe, & doing that which is farre vnbeſeeming their State and condition, but if they thinke to get any thing hereby in the ende, they are much deceiued in mine opinion, their way to ſpeed is to proceed *cum precatione & ſupplicatione*, and not by the way of force and compulſion: *Magnorum ſiquidem Principum & Regum heroicis animis natura videtur iuſtum, quod flecti, & duci, non cogi velint.*

Defence of the M.M. Aduenturers againſt the Hanſes ſlander of Monopolie.

The third cauſe whereupon the foreſaid Mandate of the Emperours is grounded, is, *The Monopolie vſed* (as is ſaid) *by the Marchants Aduenturers*: which to be a falſe and iniurious ſlauder, and ſurmize, needeth no other demonſtration, then the true ſence and definition of the word *Monopolie* it ſelfe: *Quum Monopolium ſit quando vnus ſolus aliquod genus mercaturæ vniverſum emit, vt ſolus ſuo arbitrio vendat. Monopolie* is, when one man alone buyeth vp all that is to bee got of one kinde of merchandiſe, to the end that he alone may ſell at his owne luſt and pleaſure. Which wel conſidered, hath no communion or agreement with the trade & practiſe of the Companie of M.M. Aduenturers, and townes where the ſaid companie haue reſided, or are reſident in at this day, doe knowe and can witneſſe, that thoſe of the ſaid Companie haue vſed, and doe vſe an honeſt, vpright and lawfull trade *Emptionis, Venditionis, & Permutationis*: which by all lawe is permitted, *vita enim noſtra ſine contractibus & commerciis ſubſiſtere nequit*, not onely with Cloth, bnt alſo with all kinde of wares, and Merchandiſe, ſo that whatſoeuer is free and at libertie to buy and ſell, the ſame by no reaſon or right conſtruction

can be accompted a *Monopolie*: neither haue the Adventurers the sole transporte, and trade inwardes, and outwardes of English Cloth, and other Wares, but it is well knowen, and notorious, that all the Members of the *Hanses*, & not onely they, but also all the subiects of Vpper, and Low Germanie, and all other straungers in league, & amitie with the Crowne of England, may, and doe at their libertie and pleasure, buye, and carry out of the Realme all sortes of Cloth, and English wares, and may, and doe bring in, and sell their own countrie commodities without empeachment, or hinderance, paying such dewties, and customes, as they ought to pay: besides there are diuerse other Companies of Merchantes, who are priuiledged to transporte Cloth, &c. out of the lande into forreigne partes, and Cuntries, as well as the Companie of M. M. Adventurers, which they doe in great quantitie. Moreouer, the Companie of M.M. Adventurers hath no banke, nor common stocke, nor common Factour to buye, or sell for the whole Companie, but euery man tradeth a-part and particularlie with his owne stocke, and with his owne Factour, or seruaunt: wherevpon it necessarilie followeth, that forasmuch as the M.M. Aduenturers haue not (as aforesaid) the sole dealing, and traffike alone in their own hands, either in Englande or on the other side the seas, and that *Monopoly definitio cum suo definito* in the least parte agreeth not, the said companie by no sound reason, or argument can be charged to bee anie such Monopoliers, or priuat gain, & lucre seekers, as the *Hanses* would make the world beleeue they are, neither is it to be thought, that by the said M.M. Aduenturers the said *Hanses* are brought to such apparant losse, and hinderaunce, as by their complaintes they beare the Emperour, and States of the Empire in hand. Concerning that, which they alleadge, that the said companie haue their Gouernement, and Officers, keepe Courtes, and Assemblies, make lawes, impose mulctes and penalties, and shippe at set times, and with appointed Fleetes, out of which they would infer a Monopolie: It needeth none other answer, thē I haue alreadie made in this treatise, wherein is truelie and plainly declared the practise, and maner of the Companie of M.M. Aduenturers in al the aboue

said

saide pointes, and withall shewed the good, that commeth to the State, and common Wealth thereby, and how farre it is out of the compasse of *Monopolie*: A fault not only forbidden, but also worthilie to be punished in all well gouerned common wealthes, *Imò honestorum Principum subditis indignum:* Besides, it is more then strange, that the *Hanses* haue the face to cõdemne that in others, as vnlawful, & Monopolish, which themselues both in Englande, and euery where else, where they now haue, or haue had their Residence, or Counters cõtinually practised: for who knoweth not, that they had their Aldermen, or Consuls, Treasurers, Secretaries, Assistentes, & other officers, & keepe their meetinges, Courtes, & Assemblies, & vsed Marchants law amõg themselues? And if it were lawfull, & free for thẽ so to doe, why may it not be as lawfull, & free for the M. M. Adventurers to doe the like? But (say the Hanses) the M. M. Adventurers in their Courtes doe set the prices of their own wares, & of other mens, ordayning not to sell or buye otherwise, or at other rates, or prices, which is plaine *Monopolie*, this how true it is, I appeale to the consciences of the verie *Hanses* themselues, & of all other Merchants, with whom the saide Companie doe deale, whether this be a trueth yea, or no. Besides, I may boldlie, & with a good conscience affirme, that neither I in all the time of my seruice, neither the oldest man liuing in the saide Companie, can saye, that euer it was knowen, or heard that any such matter of letting price was once mentioned in any Court, or assemblie of the saide Companie: neither in deed was there euer any such matter, but euery mã rather studieth to keep his feat & trade as secrete to himselfe as he can, for feare of his fellow, least being espied, it might be taken out of his handes: & further, it is a thing abhorred, & condemned by the lawes of the Realme, & therefore if the Companie of M. M. Adueaturers could euer haue been iustlie accused of the saide crime, they should not haue escaped so long without deserued punishment: Iustlie, the verie state, and policie of the saide Companie, cannot abide or brooke anie Monopolie, as being directlie, and *ex diametro* contrarie, and an ouerthrow to that Oeconomie, so carefully prouided for, and preserued by the good

lawes,

lawes, and orders of the ſaid Companie: whereby there is a diſtribution of the benefites, and Commodities of the Company to all the members of the ſame, ſo much, as is poſſible with great prouidence, and equitie ordained, ſo that euery man that will or is able, may participate thereof ſo farre, as they will extend: Whereas if it were otherwiſe, the meaner ſort ſhould not be able to liue by the richer: for theſe in ſhort time would with their great purſes and meanes drawe all the trade inwardes and outwardes into their owne hands, and as vpon the Bankers in ſome places) all mens credites ſhould depend vpon their ſleeues, as hauing power to giue credite to whome they liſt, to ſell or keepe vp their wares, at their pleaſure, and to rule the markets as they thinke good: whereby it would come to paſſe, that a fewe ſhall gaine and growe mightie & exceeding wealthy, and all the reſt ſhall haue nothing to doe, and in ſhort time be brought to extreeme miſerie and pouertie: but the gouerned trade of the ſaid Companie is here in the way, ſo that you ſee how farre it is frō trueth, or likelihood of trueth, which is obiected againſt the Companie of M. M. Aduenturers on this behalfe, as beeing rather an vtter enemie then a friend, or liker of that greedy or inordinate courſe: as appeareth partly by that aboueſaid, & more euidently, as well by the teſtimonie of ſtrangers of diuers nations, as alſo by the Atteſtations, vnder the ſeales of great and famous Cities (whereof ſome are of the *Hanſes* themſelues) which I haue ſet downe not onely for the credite commendation and iuſtifying of the ſaid Company, but withall for the more manifeſtation of the trueth of that which hath beene aboueſaid. And firſt the Senate of *Hamb rough*, at ſuch time as they cauſed to be denounced to the company the expiration of their priuiledges, did in their Inſinuation the nineteenth of Iuly 1577. expreſſely put theſe words. *Quæ quidem Denunciatio non eo animo ſit, quod Societas Mercatorum, quæ ſe honeſtè in hac Ciuitate geſſit, & integritate ſua bonorum virorum benevolentiam meretur, Senatui noſtro moleſta, & grauis ſit, verum ſolummodò vt pactis ſatisfiat:* And afterwards, *Etenim ſi inclita Societas Mercatorum florentiſſimi Regni Anglie diutiùs in hac Ciui-*

Teſtimonie of ſtrangers and whole Cities on the companies behalfe againſt the ſlander of Monopolie.

Ciuitate commorare, mercaturam exercere, & hoc nomine nona pacta poſteaquam priora expirarunt cum ſpectabili Senatu inire in animo habeat, Senatus officio ſuo & aquitati non deerit. Wherby it appeereth in what eſtimation the ſaid Senat held the Companie of Merchantes Adventurers, in that they not only commended them for their honeſt cariage, and integritie, but alſo offer thē further fauour, & entertainement in their Citie after the ending of the former priuiledges, which were agreed vpon but for ten yeares, yet with this Addition, *Quod elapſis ſupradictis annis conceſsio dictorum Priuilegiorum renouaretur, & continuaretur in infinitum, ſi interim non caderet in Ciuitatis ſue damnum, vel diſpendum:* Now that the ſaid Citie receiued neither loſſe nor damage by the Cōpanie of Merchants Aduenturers, the aboue written words of honeſt cariage, and integritie proceeding frō the Magiſtrates themſelues in the ſame Citie doe ſufficientlie beare witnes, and ſince that time alſo more perticularlie the ſaid Senate of *Hambroughe* doeth touche that point of *Monopoly* in a letter writē to the Gouernour and Generalitie of the ſaid Companie in Auguſt 1586. wherein they ſay, that although they cannot denie, but that there were complaintes made vnder that name of *Monopolie* to the Emperour, and Princes Electours, *tamen noſtra cum ſuffragatione, & approbatione eaſdem inſtitutas eſſe cōſtanter negamus: Ideoq́, quum hæ Actiones ex aliorum potius ſuffragijs, quam ex noſtra voluntate, & arbitrio dependeant, non dubitamus Magnificentias, & Dominationes veſtras diuerſorum diſcrepantes intentiones, & ſententias maturiore iudicio diſcuſſuros:* ſo that in this point a man may ſee they agreed not with the reſt of their fellowes whoſe doings they diſclaime as hauing no voice or allowance of theirs. Likewiſe the late L. *Egdard*, Earle of *Eaſtfriſeland* in a lettar by him writtē in anſwer of a Mandate from the Emperour, the 26. of Iuly 1580. concerning the aboue ſaid ſlander of *Monopolie*, & monopoliſh trade vſed in *Embdē* by the Engliſh, hath theſe words: *Now whatſoeuer is free to al men, & forbidden to none, & when as this tēdeth not to the priuate cōmodity of one, or of ſome few ſingular perſons, nor goeth vpō any one ſort of wares,* as he had ſhewed that the trade of M. M.

Adventurers did not *thus by a Monopolie, or Monopoliſh trade, that referre I moſt humbly to your Maieſties conſideration, beſide the Title of Monopolies in the lawe declareth, whether it be ſo yea, or no: it was therefore neuer my meaning or thought to graunt vnto the Engliſh, or any other ſuch Monopoliſh trade, but ſuch, as the law permitteth to al men: and in very deed there is no ſuch monopoliſh trade vſed at Embden, and therein I referre my ſelf to any iuſt proofe, and all both ſtraungers, and others, which vnderſtande theſe doings, and can herein witnes the ſame with mee:* This teſtimonie of the Earles, the Senat of the town of *Embden*, confirmed by an Atteſtation vnder their common ſeale, bearing date the 29. of Iuly 1582. the true copie whereof, & of other the like vnder the ſeals of the cities of *Antwerpe*, *Middelburgh* and *Stade*, I haue ſet downe at the ende of this Treatiſe, whereby I doubt not, but all the world may perceiue that the Imputation of *Monopolie* to the companie of M. M. Adventurers, is but a malicious, iniurious, and altogether falſe ſlaunder, deuiſed by the *hanſes*, (as I ſaid before) to draw the Emperour, and Princes of Germanie, to aſſiſt them in the obtaining of their vniuſt pretences, and vnreaſonable demaunds in England, to the diſhonor of her Maieſtie, and hurt of the whole State, as much as in them lyeth, which God defend that they ſhould haue their willes in. Laſtlie, to knit vp this point, I will adde herevnto as a golden *Corronis* of all that hath been ſaid, the iudgment of her Highnes our moſt gracious Soueraigne, and the true defence of the ſaide Companie in certaine her Maieſties letters to the Emperour, and diuerſe of the Princes of Germanie and namlie in one to the Emperour written in Nouẽber 1595. the eight of the ſaid Moneth, in theſe words: *Monopolium porrò de quo Hanſeatici ſubditos noſtros criminãtur, calumniæ potius, quam veræ accuſationis rationem præ ſe ferre videtur, ab ipſis enim Imperij ſubditis, qui Londini reſident, diligẽter inquiri inſtimus, ſi quid ſcitu dignum de iniquis ſubditorum noſtrorum negotiandi rationibus referre poſſent: illi verò ingenuè reſponderunt ſe nihil ea de re in commiſſis habere allaturos tamen ſe quamprimum per literas cum ſuis Maioribus, quumque demùm quid reſponſi acciperent, id totum fideliter relaturos: queſtionem præterea*

rea ea de re cum ſubditis noſtris inſtitui mandauimus, Illi verò authenticis ſcriptis edocent, negotiandi ipſorum rationes á plurimis ciuitatibus in Belgio, Pruſſia, atque alibi vti honeſtiſsimas probari, atque quum dua Imperij Ciuitatis ſint, quæ eum noſtris maximè negotiantur, Lubeca, & Haburgum, illarum altera publicis literis, vt noſtri oſtendunt, teſtata eſt, ipſorum Negotiationem ab omni Monopoly ſuſpicione vacuã eſſe, ſeq; illius obiectæ criminationis participes nunquam fuiſſe: vbi verò Hanſeaticorũ inſtitores plura ea de re ex Dominorum ſuorum expectata in ſcriptis cõmiſsione oppoſuerint, ſe quoq; pluribus in ſcriptis reſponſuros humiliter obtulerunt. This whole letter, for that it contayneth matter woorthie the knowledge concerning the *Hanſes*, I haue added vnto the ende of this Treatiſe: Her ſaid Maieſtie in another letter to the Emperor, dated the 20 of December 1597 ſent by Maiſter *Iohn Wrothe*, after her Highnes had complayned of the vnorderlie ſettinge foorth & publiſhing of the Emperors Mandate for the reaſons in the ſaid letter at large ſet down, hath theſe words following: *Quæ ſi paulo attentiùs Maieſtas veſtra ratione animoq; ponderaſſet, & ea quæ literis noſtris anno 1595. menſeque Nouẽbri conſcriptis ſunt comprehenſa collatione cum veſtris literis menſe Iuly factis, diligentius conſideraſſet (de quibus literis vel factioſorum hominum machinationibus vos caſtos eſſe, vel à quibuſdam ex iis qui veſtræ Maieſtati ſunt à Cõſilijs non optima fide vobiſcum actũ eſſe magnopere ſuſpicamur) nobis certè perſuaſiſsimum eſt, vos hanc rationem tam iniquã Edicti contra nos, ſubditoſque noſtros veſtro Imperio haudquaquam ſubiectos, promulgandi nunquam fuiſſe ſuſcepturos, ſed potius repudiaturos has commentitias Hanſeaticorum querelas: quibus quidem præter eorum merita par, atque eadem libertas in Mercaturis apud nos faciendis, quæ noſtris hominibus conceditur oblata eſt: denique facturos fuiſſe, vt actiones noſtræ remotis partium ſtudijs, fictiſque delationibus ad rationis normam & æquitatis, ac iuſtitiæ ponderibus examinarentur.* And in letters at the ſame time written to the Princes of Germanie and ſent by the ſaid M. *Wroth*, & M. *Stephen Leſure*, to wit, to the Adminiſtrator of *Saxonie* to the *Palſgraue* vpon the Rhine, the Elector of *Mentz*, & diuers others, her Maieſtie writeth in theſe words:

Eodem porrò Edicto nonnulla in priſcam quandam ſubditorum noſtrorũ Societatem (quam Adventurariorum vocant) obiecta commemorantur, atque ex iiſdem proſcriptionis veluti ſententia infertur, qua & ex Imperij finibus diſcedere, atque ab omni intra eoſdem emendi ac vendendi vſu abſtinere iubentur, quæ quidem res admiratione digna videtur, maximè cùm literis noſtris ad Imperatorẽ menſe Nouẽbri, An. 1595. à Comitijs quæ Ratiſbonæ 94. habebantur datis ad ſingula Edicto hoc repetita abunde reſpon[illegible], ac firmiſſimis rerũ momentis ſatisfactũ fuerit, quo ſanè cr[illegible]dum nobis erat Cæſareã Maieſt. biennium penè ſilentio inter[illegible]oſito rationibus à nobis allatis acquieuiſſe. Quod ſi quid adhuc dubij ſupereſſe viſum fuiſſet, & iuſtitia, & regiæ noſtræ dignitatis ratio, quã ſub diuino nomine abſolutã gerimus, pro amicitia ſaltẽ noſtra quã ſanctè hactenus cũ Imperio coluimus, aut per literas per internũciũ aliquẽ nobis exponendum illud poſtulaſſet. Nunc verò hunc in modum ſub ſilentio ex improuiſo, etiã Typis expoſuiſſe qua ad noſtrã iniuriam (ipſa quoque in ſubditos noſtros iuſtitia violata) faciunt, indecorum omnino fuiſſe arbitramur: omnium enim opinione iniquum meritò habẽdum viros probos nunquã auditos, aut vocatos ex malevolorũ obiectis calumnijs, nec probatis, & ne quidem ritè examinatis proſcriptionis ſententia, etiam contra ipſam ſacri Imperij libertatem mulctaſſe. Thus you ſee what the opinion of her Maieſtie & of others hath beene of the Compame of the M. M. Aduenturers touching Monopoly, whereof they are ſlandered by the *Hanſes*, which I doubt not is ſufficient though not poſſibly to ſtop the mouthes of the ſaid *Hanſes*, yet to conuince them of vntruth, and malicious forgery on that behalfe.

That the maintenance of the Fellowſhip of Merchants Aduenturers hath beene and is for the honour and ſeruice of the Prince and State at home and abroad.

ALL that which hath bin afore at large ſet downe, tẽdeth in effect to the proof of this point, as if it wold pleaſe the diligent Reader to remember the ſame, and lay it together, would be ſoone perceiued. For whereas I haue ſaid, & ſhewed

that the Merchants Aduenturers, as ſubiects of this noble Realme, haue procured at the hands of forreigne Princes and States many ample, and beneficiall Iuriſdictions, Priuiledges, Liberties, exemptions and immunities, by vertue whereof they haue erected a good and conuenient gouernment, for the rule and ordering of themſelues, and their Trade, & exerciſe ciuill iuriſdiction beyond the ſeas: that the ſaid Merchants Aduenturers are a meanes of the preſeruation of the amitie and league betweene this land, and the ſaid forreigne Princes and States, that they aduaunce the price, and vent of our countrie Commodities, and bring in forreigne wares good cheape, that they are a maintenance of the Nauigation and encreaſe of the cuſtoms at home, who ſeeth not, & confeſſeth that all theſe things are to the high honor of the Prince, and notable ſeruice of the ſtate and common wealth? Beſides all this, ſome of the Princes of this land haue known ſo well, how to vſe this Company, and to make their vttermoſt benefite of them, that beſides that the ſaid Companie haue at ſundrie times vpõ vrgent occaſions giuen their credits for the lones of great ſummes of money beyond the ſeas, for the ſeruice of the State, diuerſe of the Gouernours, and others of the ſaid Companie, haue in particular not beene wanting, according to their dutie, to do their Prince good, and commendable ſeruice manie times in the affaires of the State. Further, at the change of Princes, and receiuing in of new, at Triumphs for victories, and Coronations, the ſaid Companie haue not forgot the honour of their Prince and Countrie, but haue ſpent and laid out great ſummes of money this way, ſo that at ſome one Princes receiuing in, they haue conſumed aboue two thouſand French Crownes in ſhewes or triumphall Arches, and namely, of the late King *Philip* of Spaine, at his entrie into the Citie of *Antwerpe* in September 1549. at ſuch time, as his father the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, transferred vnto him all his Seignories, and States in the lowe Countries: beſides, that Maiſter *Iohn Sturgeon*, at that time Gouernour of the Company was at the receiuing in of the ſaid Prince, accõpanied with thirtie Merchants of the Companie on horſe-

back al in a liuerie of purple veluet in graiue coats, and paned hoſe, embroidered full of ſiluer waues, like the waues of the ſea: their Dublets, and drawing out of their hoſe purple ſattin, their Hats of purple veluet with golde bands, faire brouches, and white feathers: and each of them a chaine of gold about his necke of great value: buskins of purple veluet: their Rapiers, Daggers, Spurres, Stirrops, and Bridles all gilt: the furniture of their horſes was of purple veluet, Saddles and trappings, &c. embroidered with gold and greene ſilke, and white and greene feathers on their horſe heads: they were attended with threeſcore Lackeyes, apparrelled in white veluet ierkins cut, imbroidered with ſiluer twiſt, greene ſatten Dublets, with hoſe and buskins of the ſame, purple veluet Caps and greene feathers: behind them rode the aboueſaid Gouernour vpon a white Engliſh gelding, in a long purple veluet gowne, lined with purple ſatten: a blacke veluet coat, and cappe with a faire brouch therein, and a chaine of gold about his necke: his Dublet and Hoſe, with the trappings of his Horſe were, as the other of his Company wore, he was attended on by ſixe Lackies on foote, and three Pages on horſebacke, apparelled as aforeſaid. In which their doing, they ſhewed themſelues for the honour of their Prince and Countrie, nothing inferiour to the Merchants of other nations, namely the Germans, Eaſterlings, Italians, Spaniards, and Portugals, and ſurmounting ſome of them in coſtly apparel, furniture of themſelues and their horſes, and in other preparation, to entertaine the ſaid Prince, whereby they wan great honour, and commendation to themſelues, and the whole Engliſh name. To ſay nothing of the late Duke of *Alanſons* entertainment into the ſaid Citie of *Antwerpe* in the yeare 1581. at which time Maiſter *Chriſtopher Hoddeſdon* then, and now Gouernour, receiued the ſaid Duke with foureſcore Merchants of the Companie, all on horſeback in verie ſeemly and decent ſort, apparelled in blacke veluet, and moſt of them with chaines of gold about their necks. for the which the ſaid Gouernour & Companie receiued thankes and commendations from her Maieſtie and the Lords of the Councel, wher-

of

of some were beholders of that abouesaid, and made honourable report thereof vnto her Highnesse at their return home. In deedes of Pietie, and Charitie they haue not also beene wanting, as well appeareth by the founding of Chappels in old time at *Bridges* and *Middelburgh*: and since, in maintaining the exercise of Religion amongst them in all the places of their residence hetherto, yea euen amõg those, who could not well away with the same: as also by their Christianlike care, and prouision for the poore, the comfort whereof many a distressed person, souldiers, and mariners &c. of our nation haue found, and daily find: besides, their liberalitie is knowne to a great name, who heretofore haue tasted the same, especially those, who haue, & do receiue yearly pẽsions from thẽ, partly in remembrance, and gratification of passed seruice, and partly for their better relieue, maintenance, and sustentation in their old dayes as also in learning and otherwise: hereunto may be added the great, and continuall charges, which from time to time they haue beene at, and still are in these troublesome times, through the manifold disturbance, remouing, and alteration of the Trade about the procuring of new Priuiledges, and residence for the better vent, and vtterance of the Commodities of the realme, and maintenance of the Commerce, and traffike in forreigne parts. And when for the defence of the Realme, shippes haue beene to bee made out, it hath cost them notable summes of money, as by their accounts thereof doth appeare: all which could not haue bin done, but by men vnited into a Societie or companie, as would be too too euident, if once all were set at libertie, as some would haue it: for then it would in few yeares come to passe, that we should neither haue priuiledge, nor iurisdiction abroad, the friendship, and kind of vsage of our neighbours would waxe cold, and faint, yea wee should go to the walles, be wrõged & exacted vpon euery where, our Countrie commodities would grow vile, or come into the hands, and managing of strangers, at whose curtesie also, or at least of a few Cormorants of our own nation, we should stand, for that we haue need of from abroad: by meanes whereof the incomes

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and Customes of the Prince, would be sore diminished, and the Nauigation decayed: and lastlie, if there were occasion either at home of anie thing of importance to be done on the suddaine for the defence of the Realme, the extraordinarie helpe of the M.M. Adventurers would bee wanting, and in forreigne partes, if there were neede, either of money, or other prouision for the seruice of the Prince, and State, no man would be founde, and so neither credite, nor meanes would be founde or had to serue the turne withall, neither any man to doe anie thing for the honour of the Prince, and Countrie howsoeuer necessarie, or vrgent the occasion may be either generall, or particular: all which I doubt not will be well considered of, and waighed by her Excellent Maiestie, and those which vnder her Highnes haue the ordering, and gouernement of the affaires, and state of this noble Realm, and so the common wealth may prosper, & encrease in honour, & flourishing estate, & that those, which trauaile, and take paines to this ende, and haue from time time beene found profitable members, may be cherished, and maintained in their well doing, and encouraged to proceede, by vouchsafing them gratious countenance, and favourable ayde, and assistance in their causes, and by vpholding them in the full and quiet fruition, and vse of their Priviledges, Charters, and Rightes giuē heeretofore with so good consideration, and hetherto continued, to the high Honour of her Maiestie, and the generall good of this Realme, as I hope in this treatise to haue plainly, and euidentlie prooued, to the reasonable satisfactiō of al that loue not nouelties, or haue no oūtldish appetites: especiallie of those in honorable, and eminent place, for whose information principallie I vndertooke this labour, humbly praying that it may be well accepted, and bring foorth such good, as is thereby meant vnto her Roiall Maiestie, and the whole lande with all the members thereof, the contunuall happines, and prosperitie wherof the Almightie, graunt by whom Princes raigne, & without whome nothing is happie, or perdurable. And you true hearted Marchantes Adventurers, for whose sake I haue writen This treatise, faint not in your orderlie, and

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hetherto wel continued course vnder the fauor & protection of so excellent & gratious a Princesse, which you haue oftentimes proued, & seen, and by the aid and direction of so Honorable and wise a Councell, as that of her Maties, of whom you may be wel assured, to receiue all necessarie and reasonable assistance in your honest and commendable exercise and feate of Merchandise, maintaine the credite & honour which you haue gotten abroad, continue in well doing, keepe you to your ancient orders, and Policie: Preserue vnion and concord amongst you diligently and carefully, *& valeant qui dissidium inter vos volunt*, note them not withstanding, and looke vnto them betymes, for they are daungerous persons, louers of them selues, and enemies to your good, and the welfare of your Societie, wherein they & the *Hanses* iumpe together and agree: for neither the one, nor the other would haue you to be a Cõpanie for that is in their way, & restrained the ones inordinate gourmandise, and thirst after priuate lucre, onely regardinge the time present, and nothing at all the posteritie (which is a pestilẽt & pernicious humor in al cõmon wealths) and keepeth the other from praying vpon the cõmon wealth of this Realme, & hauing their will of the state: as for the saide *Hanses* slaunderous complaintes, and accusations of *Monopolie* forged without ground of trueth, it shalbe for your credite to answere, where they shalbe ashamed of their doinges, and at length blush, *vendere tam vanos circum Palatia fumos:* which you may easilie do, and without any great charge: and for the *Hanses* them selues neither they, nor their means are so great, that the State need greatlie to fear them, for if we wil but cõsider the causes, that made them of estimation, and accompt in olde time, namely, the multitude of their shipping, and sea trade whereby they stored al Countries with the Easterne cõmodities, and serued Princes turnes in time of warre, and of vse of shipping: wee shall finde that they haue in a manner lost both the one and the other long agoe in comparison of that it hath been, and is now at this day with them: And if her Maiestie should forbid all trade into Spaine after the example of other Princes they would in short time be quitt of the rest:

for that trade is their chiefest support at this instant, and might be taken frō them: if it so were thought meet vnto her Highnes, and the Lords, and others of her Honorable Councel: Besides of the two and seuentie confederate *Hanse* Townes, so much spoken, and vaunted of, what remaineth almost, but the reporte, and those which remaine, & appeare by their Deputies whē there is anie assemblie, are they of one minde? or are they able, but with much adoe, to bring vp the charges and contributions necessarie, & incident for the defence, and maintenance of their league, Priuiledges, & trade in foreigne partes, and at home? surely no: so that it appeareth, that they are not the men they haue been, and therefore although their stomacks, & malice no doubt be bigge enough, yet we need not much to regard, what they can do, for most of their teeth are out, & the remayner are but loose, & scattred: much better therfore were it for them, to seeke the recouery of her Maiesties fauor, and grace by some other more decent course, and meanes, then they haue of late practised, *Precatio & supplicatio* were fitter for them, and would become them better, as I said before, let them remēber the difficulties, which some of the *Hanse* townes are already brought into by their neighbor Princes, & what yet hangeth ouer some other of their heads, for the preuenting or remoouing of the like, whereof the verie opinion of the good will, and friendship of her Highnesse would not bee a little auailable, and may profite much hereafter: Wherefore like wise men, knowing their fault, and errour, let them shape another course, for this, which they hetherto haue runne, will not bring them there where they would faigne be: And when all is done, and that they haue spent their monie and wearied the world with their importunate complaintes, and out-cryes do they thinke that they shal recouer their priuiledges in Englande by forcing her Maiestie, or the State? I suppose they are not so senseles. As for the trade in Cloth out of England, which they so much contēd for, I am of opinion if the matter were wel examined, that the riotousnesse, and vnfaithfull dealing of their seruants, and factors, the aduenture of the sea, and charges, when they ship-

ſhipped, and held the Steelyard at London conſidered, they did more profite by buying of the Merchants Aduenturers at *Embden*, and *Hamburgh*, eſpecially the Merchants of *Hamburgh*, then by fetching of Cloth themſelues out of England. But let that be, as it may be. I muſt confeſſe, that the ancient friendſhip, and Commerce between the Realme of England and the *Hanſes* (howſoeuer they be now decayed) ought not altogether to be forgotten, that ſo by ſome good & indifferent meanes and agreement, the Trade & Amitie betweene the two moſt noble Dutch, & Engliſh nations might be made firme & ſtable, & the ancient & friendly neighborhood confirmed againſt all humane changes and chaunces, which are vncertaine and variable: yet ſo, that ſtrangers be not preferred before the Naturall borne ſubiect, who at all times is and muſt be ready to ſerue his Prince & country with his perſon and goods at home, and abroad, when ſtrangers, and ſtrange help wilbe far off, and to ſeeke: And therefore the demaund of the *Hanſes* in this behalfe is very abſurd, and vnreaſonable, *Nam ſitientibus noſtris agris alienos irrigare, ſtultum eſſe Leges ducunt, & ordinatam Charitatem incipere à ſeipſo, etiam Theologi admittunt*: wherewith I will conclude this *Treatiſe*, hoping that therein I haue ſufficientlie declared, and made known that, which I tooke vpon me at the beginning, namelie: *The Commodities of a well ordered Trade*, ſuch as I doubt nor, I haue proued that of the Societie or Companie of M.M. Adventurers to bee, and the *Neceſſarines of the ſaid Societie* in this floriſhing *State*.

Quem Deus incolumem ſervet, faxitq; perennem,

That ſo the memebers, and parts thereof may continually, and dayly more and more proſper, and grow vp in the ſame, to the honor of God, their Prince and Countrie.

A COPIE OF A LETTER FROM her Maieſtie in anſwer of a letter receiued from the Emperour in high Dutch, wherof the Mandate maketh mention, but much differing from the contents of this Copie.

ELIZABETHA *Dei gratia Anglia, Francia, & Hibernia Regina, fidei defenſor, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi ac Domino, Domino* RODOLPHO, *Romanorum Electo Imperatori ſemper Auguſto: Regi Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ & Slauoniæ: Archiduci Auſtriæ: Duci Burgundiæ, Styriæ, Carinthiæ & Wirtinbergæ: Comiti Tyrolis, &c. Fratri & Conſanguineo noſtro chariſſimo: Salutem rerumque optatiſſimarum fœliciſſimũ incrementum.*

Sereniſſime Princeps, Frater & Conſanguinee chariſſime, Litera Serenitatis veſtræ decimo quinto Iulij data, & illa quidem Germanicè conſcripta, quod ſane primo aſpectu, cum id genus idiomatis hactenus inter nos haud vſitatum ſit, dubitationem an cõmentitiæ eſſent non leuem ingeſſit) ſub finem Octobris reddita nobis fuerunt, quas quidem ex ſubiecta materia ad Hanſeaticorum inſtantiam editas animaduertimus. Illi vero dum obſoleta quædam Priuilegia in Regno noſtro ſibi ipſi vendicare perperam decreuiſſent An. octuageſimo ſecundo in Imperialibus comitijs Auguſtæ Vindelicorum habitis, Mandatum (vt hiſce ſerenitatis veſtræ literis habetur) de communibus Imperij ac Dominiorum noſtrorũ commercijs perturbandis extorſerunt: & iam nuper anno nonageſimo quarto in Deputatorum conuentu Ratiſbonæ, de ipſorum damnis Mari per Thalaſſos noſtros (vt queruntur) illatis, denique Mercatorum noſtrorum in Imperio negotiandi rationibus (quas illi odioſa appellatione Monopolia vocitant) nonnullis allegatis & deductis, Mandati illius Auguſtani vim atque executionem poſtularunt. Hac occaſione Serenitas veſtra pro mutua Amicitia noſtra (quam amantiſima Sororis affectu libenter amplectimur) ſcribendum hoc tempore duxit; noſq; hiſce ſuis amicè hortatur,

tur, vt de eiusmodi malorum remedys cogitemus, quibus fine querelis impoſito, omnia in florentiſsimo Amicitiæ ſtatu conſeruentur.

Eo certè animo in Serenitatem veſtrã totumq́ ipſius Imperium ſemper fuimus, vt arctiſsimæ Amicitiæ iura cum eadem perpetuò tueri, atque inuiolatè colere ſtatuerimus; quam quidem animi noſtri propenſionem, vti pro re nata ſæpius teſtatiſsimam reddere hactenus ſtudiimus, ita deinceps mutui amoris noſtri officijs nunquã deerimus. Ad Hanſeaticorum querelas quod attinet, communes querelarum rationes ſubire illas neceſſe eſt: vt nempè quæ minus rectè inſtitutæ reperiantur, ſeipſis concidant. Atqui de memoratis Priuilegijs ſæpè iam alias reſponſum eſt: illa ipſa ante Inaugurationem noſtram collapſa, atque ex allegatis & probatis publico ac ſummo Regni noſtri Iudicio (à quo nullum Appellationis forum agnoſcitur) penitus euerſa atque abolita fuiſſe. Nos verò alia nonnulla vt temporum rationes ferebant, aliquamdiu Hanſeaticis cõceſsimus; donec ipſi peculiari ipſorum decreto, ſubditos noſtros tum Hamburgæ cum laude reſidentes, nulla dignitatis nec amicitiæ noſtræ ratione habita, nulla ex cauſa, nobiſq́ ommno non prænonitis temerè exturbarent. Poſt aliquanto cùm à Serenitate veſtra commẽdatitias in fauorem illorum accepiſſemus, ad eaſdem omninò apud nos negotiandi rationes, quibus ipſi noſtri ſubditi vtuntur, illis in gratiam Serenitatis veſtræ concedendas, ſatis nos inclinatas ſæpè oſtẽdimus; nihil tamen illi eo in genere hactenus à nobis petierunt. Nunc igitur Serenitas veſtra cui Deus optimus maximus populos ſubiecit, multo rerum vſu edocta quænam ſint ſceptra tenendi rationes ipſa ſecum perpendat, aniis aures præbendæ ſint, qui vetuſta priuilegia Iuris ordine ſemel abiudicata, & eam olim penitus deleta, quæ mutati ab priſcis temporum atque hominum mores non ferunt, cineribus ſuſcitare multa importunitate ſatagunt? Quis enim eſſet rerumpub. ſtatus, ſi quæ iam olim iuſtis de cauſis antiquata oportuit, ad preces cuiuſpiam in vſum denuò renocarentur? Neque verò alicubi conſuetum eſt, neque ratione vlla ferendum videtur, vt alienigenæ in earum rerum vſu, quæ regnorum ſunt propriæ, Indigenis præferantur: quin potiùs ſingularis beneficij loco ducitur, ſi pares ſint: id quod nos Ciuitatibus Imperij ſi quæ petiiſſent iamdudum ob ſingulare Amicitiæ noſtræ ſtudium, benignè concedere ſtatueramus.

Interim verò quibuscunque Imperij ſubditis, in Dominijs noſtris liberè verſandi, & more exterorum negotiandi facultatem nunquam negauimus. Domum propriam in Metropoli noſtra, vbi ſuis moribus viuerent, ex gratia illis ſemper permiſimus: ita quidem, vt Iure conqueri non poſſint, ſe vti denunciatos hoſtes apud nos habitos vnquam fuiſſe. Quod verò de damnis acceptis inferunt, ita ſe habet. Cùm ſuperioribus hiſce annis bello Hiſpanico implicari coepiſſemus, more aliorum Principum, bellica preſidia hoſtibus intercludenda, quantum in nobis fuerat decreuimus: eaq; de re Vicinas Ciuitates præmonuimus: atque ſi quis inhibita hoc belli tempore in Hiſpaniam tranſportare niteretur, eoſdem veluti auxiliatores atque hoſtium complices, aliqua ex parte habendos, atque inhibitorum confiſcatione mulctandos declaraſſemus: his actis Claſſiarij noſtri in plurimas Hanſeaticorum Naues rebus inhibitis onuſtas incidérunt: Nauibus verò ac Nautis ex indulgentia dimiſſis, bona tantum inhibita Iure belli ac Regni noſtri inſtituti fiſco commiſerunt. Quæ quidem illorum Damna, (de aliis enim nihil nobis conſtat) multò nomine Iure optimo illata nullo æquitatis colore reſtituenda veniunt.

Monopolium porrò, de quo Hanſeatici ſubditos noſtros criminantur, calumniæ potiùs quàm veræ accuſationis rationem præ ſe ferre videtur: ab ipſis enim Imperij ſubditis, qui Londini reſident, diligenter inquiri iuſſimus, ſi quid ſcitu de iniquis ſubditorum noſtrorum negotiandi rationibus referre poſſent. illi verò ingenuè reſponderunt ſe nihil ea de re in commiſſis habere: acturos tamen ſe quamprimum per literas cum ſuis maioribus. Cumq; demùm quid reſponſi acciperint, id totum fideliter relaturos. Queſtionem præterea ea de re cũ ſubditis noſtris inſtitui mandauimus: is verò authenticis ſcriptis edocent, negotiandi ipſorum rationes à plurimis ciuitatibus in Belgio, Pruſſia, atque alibi vti honeſtiſſimas probari. Atque cùm duæ Imperij Ciuitates ſint, quæ cum noſtris maximè negotiantur, Lubeca & Hamburgum, illarum melior pars publicis literis (vt noſtri oſtendunt) teſtata eſt, ipſorum negotiationem ab omni Monopolij ſuſpicione vacuam eſſe, ſeq; illius obiecta criminationis participem nũquam fuiſſe: Vbi verò Hanſeaticorum Inſtitores plura ea de re ex Dominorum ſuorum expecteta cõmiſſione, in ſcriptis opposuerint, ſe quoque pluribus in ſcriptis reſponſuros hoc modo obtulerunt.

obtulerunt.

Ad Auguſtanum denique de cõmerciis inhibendis mandatum quod attinet, non ſatis intelligimus, qua ratione Imperij Principes rectè informati, de privilegijs aut aliis quibuſcunque ad Iura Regni noſtri, ab imperij Legibus ſemper abſoluti, pertinentibus, cognitionem ſuſcipere potuerint: neque ſanè videmus quibus documentis eam in ſententiam adduci poſſent, vt commerciorum inhibitionem Imperio, Serenitati veſtræ, ſibi ipſis, aut Imperij Ciuitatibus, vtilem fore arbitrarentur. Quamobrem Mandatum illud vti obreptitiè impetratum, Iure optimo hactenus ſuſpẽſum fuiſſe, ac deinceps ſuſpendendum eſſe meritò exiſtimamus. Interim verò ne quid mutuæ amicitiæ noſtræ deſit, Imperij ſubditos qui in Dominijs noſtris forte verſabũtur, more ſolito benigna protectione noſtra clementer tuebimur: atque ſi Lubeca, Hamburgum, aut alia Serenitatis veſtræ Ciuitas, ipſius nomine gratiam à nobis ſubmiſsè poſtulauerint, quæ negotiandi rationes maiori ipſorum commodo inſtituendas cupiant, Serenitatis veſtræ commendationem plurimum apud nos momenti habuiſſe facilè intelligent: nos viciſsim amanter petimus, vt parẽ gratiam ſubditis noſtris in ipſius Dominijs clementer impertire Serenitas veſtra non grauetur. Eidemq; interim fœlicia omnia à DEO Optimo Maximo precamur. Datæ è Regia noſtra Richemundana, octauo Nouembris, Anno Domini 1593, Regni verò noſtri xxxvij.

Serenitatis veſtræ Soror & Conſanguinea

ELIZABETHA.

Atteſtation of the citie of Antwerp, on the Companie of the Merchants Aduenturers behalfe.

Niuerſis & ſingulis noſtras præſentes literas teſtimoniales viſuris vel audituris, Burgimagiſtri & Scabini Ciuitatis Antuerpienſis in Ducatu Brabantiæ ſalutem. Cùm pium ſit, ac vationi conſonum Veritati teſtimonium perhibere, præſertim ſi pro conſeruando alterius Iure requiramur. Hinc eſt quod obnixè rogati ex parte Magnificorum Dominorum Gubernatoris, Aſſiſtentium, & communium Mercatorum nationis Anglicæ, præſentibus hiſce fidem facimus, & atteſtamur dictos Mercatores nationis Anglicæ, qui pluribus abhinc annis in hac noſtra Ciuitate Antuerpienſi reſiderunt & adhuc reſident, honeſtam, licitam, & Reipub. vtilem ſemper exercuiſſe negotiationem, & etiammum adhuc exercere in emendis, vendendis, & permutandis mercimonijs aliiſq; legitimis contractibus ineundis, neque vllum feciſſe diſcrimen inter Mercatores cum quibus contraherent cuius illi eſſent nationis, dummodo ſoluendo & ſpectatæ fidei forent, quibus interdum præſente, interdum ad tempus credita pecunia Pannos, Carſeas, aliáſq; merces ſuas promiſcuè ſemper vendidêre, & adhuc vendunt. In quorum fidem haſce literas ſigillo huius Ciuitatis ad cauſas muniri fecimus. Datum die 19. menſis Aprilis, Anno Domini 1582.

Atteſtation of 28. Merchants in Antwerp of ſundry Nations, concerning the Companies orderly Trade and cleareneſſe from Monopoly.

Niuerſis & ſingulis præſentes literas inſpecturis ſiue audituris, Burgimagiſtri, Scabini, & Conſules Ciuitatis Antuerpiæ ſalutem. Notum facimus ac harum ſerie teſtamur, Quòd die infra ſcripto ad inſtantiam magnificorum Dominorum Gubernatoris, Aſſiſtentium, & communium Merca-

Mercatorũ nationis Anglicæ in hac ciuitate residentiũ coram nobis comparuerunt D.D. Ludouicus Guicciardini Florẽtinus, Carolus Lam Franchi, Ioan. Angelus Vergano, Gaſper Reuelaſco, Lambertus Läberti, Simon Taſſa, Bartholomæus Luquini, Bartholomæus Balbi, natione Itali, Domini Iacobus de Pardo, Petrus de la Pena Hiſpani, Domini Ferdinandus Ximenes, Rodrigo de Vega, Ludouicus Ferdinandes, Simon Rodrigues Portugallenſes ſiue Luſitani, D.D. Ioannes Putz, Iacobus Lange, Ieremias Gennis Germani, Domini Theodoricus de Moy, Ludouicus de Becque, Iacobus van Teweruen, Gualterus Schot, Henricus Moons, Daniel de Lommel, Arnoldus Boudewijns, Nicolaus Rampart, Henricus van Homſſen, Ioannes vanden Steene, & Iacobus Schot, Ciues & incolæ huius Opidi, omneſq́, Mercatores, Burſam eiuſdem Oppidi frequentantes, Viri fide digni, nobiſq́ probè cogniti, Qui mediis illorum iuramentis ſolemniter præſtitis iurauerunt & affirmauerunt primo ad id iuridice citati prædictos Mercatores Nationis Anglicæ, tam in hac Ciuitate Antuerpia, quàm aliis locis vbi negotiantur, Inſtam, licitamq́ negotiationem exercuiſſe, & adhuc exercere, neque quantum reſcire potuerunt eoſdem Mercatores profeſſionem feciſſe fœnerandi vel dandi pecunias ad vſuram aut Monopolijs vſos fuiſſe, verùm è contrario eoſdem ſemper exercuiſſe & inijſſe exercere inſtam negotiationem, conſiſtentem in emẽdis, vendendis, & permutandis mercibus aliisque legitimis Contractibus ineundis. Itemq́ præfatos Mercatores Anglicos illorum Pannos, Carſeas, aliaſq́ merces omnibus & quibuſcunque Nationibus Chriſtiani Orbis ſine diſcrimine vendere, prout etiam dicti Deponentes nunquam reſcire potuerunt, quod dicti Mercatores inter ſe aliquas erexerint Ordinationes aut Statuta, quibus ſuis Pannis, Cariſeis, aut alijs mercibus certum præfigant pretium, quo & non minoris diuendi debeant, Quinimo ipſorum negotiationem ſemper fuiſſe & eſſe liberam, Preterea Mercatores Anglicos in hac Ciuitate Antuerpienſi & Embde, aut alibi locorum reſidentes pro magna parte diuerſos habere Miniſtros & Inſtitores, & ſeparata Domicilia & Magazena, vt plurimum ſeorſum & ſeparatim negotiando pro lubito alij ad tempus credita pecunia, itemque alij maiori, alij minori pretio, vel etiam commutatione mercium & alias, ſine dolo malo, In cuius rei teſtimonium, ſigillum ad cauſas

huius Ciuitatis Antuerpiæ præsentibus apponi fecimus, Die decima nona mensis Aprilis, Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo secundo.

Attestation of the Towne of Embden in East-Friseland, on the behalfe of the Companie of Merchants Aduenturers.

VNiuersis & singulis cuiuscunque Ordinis, & Dignitatis has nostras literas visuris, siue cognituris Nos Consules, Senatores, atque Magistratus vrbis Embdæ sitæ in Frisia Orientali sub tutela sacræ Cæsareæ Maiestatis, Domini nostri clementissimi, & sacri Romani Imperij existente Comitatu post debitam, & demissam salutis, atque obseruantiæ nostræ significationem, notum publicè facimus, ac testamur: Quum Ornatissima Anglica natio aliquot annos in hac Ciuitate commorata varij generis mercimonia exerceant, & per suum Secretarium, ac Procuratorem doctum, & ornatum virum Dominum Ioannem Moer, à nobis in pleno Senatu testimonium de ratione Negotiationis, & mercatus sui petierint, minimè id quidem officiū, quantum nobis constat, eis recusandum putauimus: Quamobrem pro certo affirmamus, ac testamur publicè, quòd dicta Anglica Nationis Mercatores, eorumq; ministri, & negotiorum gestores (quos Aduenturarios vocant) quatenus nobis cognitū est, quàm diu apud nos fuerunt, sese semper honestè, & legitimè in suis Contractibus, & Negotiationibus gessisse, & adhuc gerere honestum, liberum, ac licitum mercaturæ in Pannis, Cariseys, aliisq; mercimoniis emēdis, vendēdis & permutandis exercere atque tractare, neque aliter agere, quàm probos, & idoneos Mercatores, & Negotiatores, agere par est, & decet. Proinde quum Magistratus officij sit ad id requisiti, veritati ferre testimonium, nostram quoque mentem ea de re publicè profitendam censuimus. In cuius rei confirmationem sigillum nostrum ad causas scienter appendimus: Anno Domini supra sesquimillesimum Octuagesimo secundo, vigesimo octauo die Iulij.

Atte-

Atteſtation of foureteene Merchants in Stade of ſundry places, on the behalfe of the Companie of Merchants Aduenturers.

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VNIVERSIS ET SINGVLIS *preſentes has literas viſuris vel auditurs, quocunque dignitatis, honoris, & eminentiæ gradu fuerint, Nos* CONSVLES *& Senatores Reipub.* STADENSIS, *Archiepiſcopatus Bremenſis, poſt debitam officiorum noſtrorum oblationem & honorificam ſalutationem notum facimus publicè, atteſtamur, quod ad inſtantiam Magnifici ſpectabilium & diſcretorum Domini Thomæ Ferreri, Regiæ Maieſtatis Angliæ Agentis, & hactenus apud vos Præfecti aliorumq; Aſſiſtentium & Mercatorum Anglicorum Aduenturariæ Societatis per aliquot annos in noſtra Ciuitate reſidentium, & iam tandem abitum fauente Neptuno, dudum ſperantium, coram Nobis comparuerunt legitimè iudicialitérque citati ſpectabiles & honeſti viri, fideq; dignitеſtes & Burſam Forumq; noſtræ Ciuitatis quotidiè frequentantes, Domini Iohannes Calandrinus Lucenſis Italus, Bartolomeus Peli, Wilhelmus Bartolotti, Iacobus de Greve, Antonius Boots, Hieronymus Heſter, Simon de Beck, Matthias de Keſtelt, Antuerpienſes, Franciſcus Bouderwin Buſcoducenſis, Wilhelmus de Bari, Dornacenſis, Antonius Engelbrecht, Aquiſgranēſis, Antonius Geir, Colonienſis, Ioan. Philippus Stamler, & Georgius Mauritius, Auguſtani, ſatiſq; & ſufficiēter de veritate dicenda admoniti, ſtipulato, ſub fide datarū dextrarū, in vim & ad effectum corporalis iuramenti, quod ſo deſuper re ipſa præſtare, ſi requirantur, non gravari affirmabant, depoſuerunt & atteſtati ſunt, ſibi quam notiſſimum ſeq; ipſos expertos eſſe, Aduenturarios mercatores Anglica nationis, huc vſque in noſtra Ciuitate reſidentes, & iam ad abitum paratos, non Pannos modò, Cariſeias, Baietas, ſed & alias varias & diuerſas merces ex Anglia huc aduectas, quibuſcunque orbis Chriſtiani incolis, abſque vllo diſcrimine Nationis aut Religionis, vendere & viciſſim quahacunque bona, ſibi placentia, ab aliis redimere aut in ſolutū accipere atque hinc in Angliam remittere ſolere, itemq;*

omnibus omninò Mercatoribus similiter liberum esse, suas merces in Angliam deportari, ibiq; vendi, aliásque quascunque denuò emi & in Germaniam atque alias quascunque regiones, soluto solito telonio transuehi procurare, atque hanc Anglos Aduenturarios Mercatores legitimam instámque negotiationem in emendo & vendendo aliisq; licitis contractibus ineundis non minus atque alios quoslibet negotiatores in nostra Ciuitate hactenus exercuisse, nec sibi notum esse, aut se vnquam audiuisse, quod Angli Mercatores hactenus apud nos residentes, professionem fœnerandi pecuniasue ad vsuram dandi fecerint, multò minus pacta aut statuta inter se constituerint, quibus se inuicem obstrinxerint, aut suas merces certo precio, quod citra pœnam mutare nefas esset, vendendas aut alienas similiter emendas: sed è contrà, omnibus esse cognitum, eiusdem bonitatis, signique Pannos, Cariseias, Baiettas, aliáque quascunque mercimonia apud plurimos Anglos Aduenturarie Societatis Mercatores, in diuersis Tabernis & domicilijs separatis existentes, tam Dominos quàm Factores, aut famulos siue institores, vno & eodem temporis momento reperiri, eáq; non vno, sed diuersissimo pretio, ad duas, tres, quatuor, quinque, & plures etiã libras, & si nunc maiore, nunc etiam minore pretio, præsente, vel ad tempus credita pecunia, datis obligationibus, vel facta mercium permutatione, pro vt cuiusque res tulerit, emi, atque pariter alias merces diuersimodo illis vendi posse, nec vnquam ad notitiam suam peruenisse aut se rescire potuisse Anglos Adventurarie Societatis Negotiatores, quousque hic Stade vixissent, de Monopolio iure & legitimè accusatos, multò minus vnquam à quoquam conuictos fuisse. Absque omni dolo, malo, fraude, & sinistra machinatione. In cuius rei testimonium præsentibus solitum nostræ Ciuitatis Secretum appendi scienter iussimus. Date a.d. 11x. Mensis Februarii, Anno salutiferæ natiuitatis vnici Domini & Redemptoris nostri IESV CHRISTI, milleſimo quingenteſimo nonageſimo octauo.

Atteſta-

Atteſtation of the Towne of Midelburgh in Zeland, on the behalfe of the Companie of M. M. Aduenturers.

VNiuerſis & ſingulis noſtras præſentes literas teſtimoniales viſuris vel audituris, Burgimagiſtri, Scabini, Senatoreſq; Ciuitatis Middelburgenſis in Comitatu Zelandiæ Salutem: Quum pium ſit, & rationi conſonum veritati teſtimonium perhibere, præſertim ſi pro conſeruando alterius Iure requiratur, hinc eſt quòd obnixè rogati ex parte magnificorum Dominorum Gubernatoris, Aſſiſtentium, & communium Mercatorum Nationis Angliæ, & Aduenturariæ Societatis præſentibus hiſce fidem facimus, & atteſtamur, dictos Mercatores Nationis Angliæ, qui pluribus abhinc annis in hac noſtra Ciuitate Middelburgenſi reſiderunt, & adhuc reſident, honeſtam, licitam, & Reipublicæ vtilem ſemper exercuiſſe Negotiationem, & adhuc etiamnum exercere in emendis, vendendis, & permutandis mercibus, aliiſq; legitimis contractibus ineundis, neque vllum feciſſe diſcrimen inter Mercatores, quibuſcum contraherent, cuiuſcunque eſſent Nationis. dūmodo forent ſoluendo, & ſpectatæ fidei, quibus interdum præſenti, interdum credita pecunia Pannos, Cariſeias, aliaſq; merces ſuas promiſcuè ſemper vendidêre, & adhuc vendunt: Atteſtamur præterea nunquam nobis notum fuiſſe, aut audiuiſſe vnquam, quòd dicti Angli Mercatores Aduenturarii hactenus apud nos reſidentes profeſſionem fœnerandi, pecuniaſque ad vſuram dandi fecerint, multò minùs pacta, aut ſtatuta inter ſe conſtituerint, quibus ſe inuicem obſtrinxerint, aut ſuas merces certo pretio, quòd citra pœnam mutare neſas eſſet, vel aliter vendendas, aut alienas ſimiliter emendas, ſed è contrà, omnibus eſſe cognitum, eiuſdem bonitatis ſignique Pannos, Cariſeias, aliaq; quæcunque mercimonia apud plurimos Anglos prædictæ Societatis Mercatores, in diuerſis tabernis, & domiciliis ſeparatis exiſtentes, tàm Dominos, quàm Factores, aut Famulos, ſiue Inſtitores vno & eodem temporis momẽto

 reperiri,

reperiri, eáq; non vno, ſed diuerſiſſimo pretio ad duas, tres, quatuor, quinque, & plures libras, & ſic nunc maiori, nunc minori pretio, præſenti, vel ad tempus credita pecunia, datis obligationibus, vel facta mercium permutatione, prout cuiuſque res tulerit, emi, atq; pariter alias merces diuerſimodo illis vendi poſſe. Nec vnquam ad notitiam noſtram peruenisſe, aut nos reſcire potuiſſe, Anglos Aduenturariæ Societatis prædictæ Negotiatores, quicunque hic Middelburgi vixerunt, de Monopolio Iure, & legitimè accuſatos, multò minus vnquam à quopiam cõuictos fuiſſe, abſque omni dolo malo, fraude, & ſiniſtra machinatione. In cuius rei teſtimonium alterius Secretatiorum noſtrorum manu Inſtrumentum hoc ſubſignari, nec non ſigillum ad cauſas apponere inſſimus, vt in ſimilis negotio apud nos eſt conſuetum: Actum ſeptimo die menſis Iulii Anno Domini Milleſimo Sexcenteſimo,

Schotte.

FINIS.